Gardens *of a* Chinese Emperor

Imperial Creations of the Qianlong Era, 1736-1796

Victoria M. Cha-Tsu Siu

VISIT...

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With the posthumous assistance of Kathleen L. Lodwick

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY PRESS
Bethlehem

Published by Lehigh University Press
Co-published with The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com

10 Thornbury Road, Plymouth PL6 7PP, United Kingdom

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cha-Tsu Siu, Victoria M.
Gardens of a Chinese emperor : imperial creations of the Qianlong Era, 1736-1796 / Victoria M.
Cha-Tsu Siu.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-61146-128-2 (cloth : alk. paper) -- ISBN 978-1-61146-129-9 (electronic) 1.
Gardens, Chinese--China--History--Qianlong, 1736-1795. 2. Historic gardens--China. I. Title.
SB466.C52C43 2013
635.0951--dc23

2013008976

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences —Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

To my father,
Dr. Tchoan-pao Siu

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Acknowledgments

I have many debts to acknowledge since I first started working on the Garden of Perfect Brightness almost twenty years ago. My first obligation is to acknowledge my father, Professor John Tchoan-pao Siu, Ph.D. (徐傳保) whose own professors of International Law at the University of Paris, Sorbonne, in the early twentieth century, lamented the imperial garden's destruction. They encouraged my father to reveal the garden's original magnificence in book form to a Western audience. Upon his death, my family unfailingly supported my endeavors to complete his study. (My father's original study included a major section on the fate of the looted art objects removed from those premises immediately before the 1860 conflagration. That study remains to be done.)

Thanks to Routledge for allowing me to publish parts of my article, "China and Europe Intertwined: A New View of the European Sector of the Changchun Yuan," which appeared in the July-December 1999 issue of *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*.

I would like to acknowledge Professor Yang Boda (楊伯達) at the National Palace Museum, Beijing. In 1989, he was kind enough to endorse my research project which was instrumental in getting the book started.

For their constant inspiration and unfailing support in my endeavors, I am indebted to Ellen Johnston Laing (University of Michigan), Terese Tse Bartholomew (Asian Art Museum of San Francisco), and Kathleen L. Lodwick (Pennsylvania State University, Lehigh Valley) who have been instrumental in bringing this book to fruition.

I would also like to thank Paul Rule (Latrobe University,

Melbourne) and So Kam Ng (De Anza College and Asian Art Museum of San Francisco) for editing the final draft and offering insightful contributions; Lorna Dittmer for her discerning eye in final proofreading; and John Bansavich (ITS, University of San Francisco) for his technological expertise.

Akira Sato (Parks and Open Space Association of Japan), Michel Conan and the garden fellows (Dumbarton Oaks), and Zhao Guanghua (Garden of Perfect Brightness expert, Beijing) lent their special knowledge and expertise to the book.

With patience, accessibility to information was generously given to me by Fred Cline and John Stucky (Asian Art Museum of San Francisco Library), Patrick P. K. Tseng and the staff (Library of Congress, Chinese and Korean Section), and Mark Stephen Mir (Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco).

Many individuals and institutions have been very generous with funding and grants over the years. J. S. Lee of the Bei Shan Tang Foundation and the U.S. province of the Religious of the Sacred Heart have been crucial in allowing me to gather invaluable information firsthand. The University of San Francisco aided me with monetary contributions. A Dumbarton Oaks Fellowship (1999-2000) offered me the opportunity to complete drafts and gather necessary peer reviews. An NEH summer grant also helped.

Finally, special thanks are also due to Scott Paul Gordon (director, Lehigh University Press) and Judith Mayer, his assistant.

Victoria M. Siu 徐家智
(1935-2010)

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Gardens of a Chinese Emperor: Imperial Creations of the Qianlong Era, 1736-1796 was the scholarly work of Dr. Siu for many years which took her to three continents in search of elusive sources for this monograph. It is now her legacy to the scholarly world. Her meticulous attention to detail and to getting it right is what all scholars should possess. Her Georgetown dissertation was in the field of U.S.-China relations, so to work on this monograph she had to teach herself garden history and architecture, while perfecting her knowledge of classical Chinese, French, and Italian, and constantly revising her ideas and writing. She was also a conscientious teacher at several universities.

While this book was undergoing the final proofreading, Dr. Siu became ill and was unable to make the final corrections for publication. With the unfailing support of Dr. Siu's sisters, Moyra Siu

Moy and Clare Siu, both also doctors, but in their cases M.D.s, and her religious sisters of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart, I have undertaken to make final corrections, label the plates, extract the terms in the Glossary from the text, prepare the Index, and generally guide the manuscript through the publication process. Any mistakes and/or omissions are unintentional, and we hope will be forgiven.

Pamela Kyle Crossley, Robert 1932 and Barbara Black Professor of History, Dartmouth College, Dartmouth, New Hampshire, who knows the Qing period so well through her own work, graciously agreed to proofread the Chinese and provide transliterations and translations in the cases where they were missing so that the glossary could be created. Without her help, this book could not have been completed and my thanks to her are boundless. She was assisted by two post-doctoral fellows working with her during the 2009-2010 academic year: Wang Lizhen, National Minorities University, Beijing; and Li Shizong, East China Normal University, Shanghai. Both Te Mule (Temur), associate professor of History, University of Nanjing, (occasionally with the help of his colleagues), and Xi Lian, professor of history Hanover College, kindly provided me with characters, which sometimes went missing; answered endless questions; and provided much encouragement. Te Mule also read the entire manuscript. Robert Harrist, professor of art history, Columbia University, also offered kind assistance. Vera Mark, assistant professor of French and Francophone Studies, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, proofread the French, Italian, and Latin references in the Bibliography. Ms. Zhang Ying at the Palace Museum, Beijing, offered kind assistance. Donna Hahn, administrative assistant, Pennsylvania State University, Lehigh Valley Campus, and Anne Marie Fullington proofread the manuscript. Many of Dr. Siu's friends whom I encountered at the Harvard University, Fairbank Center/Peabody Essex Museum Symposium on Chinese gardens in 2010 and at the Association for Asian Studies meetings offered encouragement out of their affection for Vicky. I also wish to thank both Scott Paul Gordon, professor of English and former director; Monica Najar, associate professor of history and current director, and Judith Mayer all of Lehigh University Press for their patience and assistance as I undertook this task. I also wish to thank the staff of Rowman and Littlefield which now publishes Lehigh University Press books.

It is with permission of Moyra and Clare Siu that I add the note that their father Professor John Tchoan-pao Siu, Ph.D. (徐傳保) was the descendant of a long line of Confucian scholars, for which the Suzhou region was famous in dynastic times. His scholarly work, as well as his daughter Victoria's, was the continuation of that tradition of scholarship. As I retired from my lifetime career of teaching,

researching, and writing about China, I feel honored to have helped complete their work.

November 2012
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Introduction

Gardens played an important role in the lives of China's emperors, and the Manchu emperors of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) were no exception. The Garden of Perfect Brightness (*Yuanming Yuan*) in the western suburbs of the Qing capital, Beijing, was begun by the great Kangxi emperor (r. 1661-1722) and expanded by his son, the Yongzheng emperor (r. 1722-1736) and brought to its greatest glory by his grandson, the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-1796). It was the most elaborate imperial garden during its heyday in the eighteenth century. When the British and French armies invaded north China in 1860 while trying to exchange ratifications of treaties signed with the Qing government in 1858, they looted and burned the treasures of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Today the gardens still lie in ruins. This study, aimed at an educated public interested in gardens and their meanings, concerns the making and the meanings of the gardens and the daily life and rituals of the Qianlong emperor, perhaps the single most powerful ruler in the eighteenth century, and how the gardens, sometimes called the Three Mountains and Five Gardens (*Sanshan Wuyuan*), reflected his character.[1]

Reconstructing on paper all five sectors of these imperial gardens is essential to show the intimate relationship between architectural design and garden design, an attribute of Chinese culture in general. Architecture offers a key to understanding why the Garden of Perfect Brightness was and continues to be vastly important, both as a place and an idea, in the long history of garden making. Following the Qianlong emperor as he traversed and viewed this garden and various scenic parts of his empire reveals the ideas and ideals involved in the planning and design of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Since a particular Chinese garden is an extension of its creator, anything that

helps us understand Qianlong, his perception of himself, and what he did in his garden is vital to our understanding of what his gardens meant, and the purpose each served.

Landscape and architecture, then, illustrate how Qianlong's world was recreated in the Qing imperial gardens. Reports of the emperor's activities, such as his six Southern Tours (*Nanxun*) to the Yangtze River region, reveal the form and purpose of many of his garden creations. They suggest a whole set of concepts—religious, philosophical, political, artistic, and popular—represented in his gardens. In presenting the practical with the theoretical points of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, I try to gain access to his wonderful eighteenth-century world as embodied in his garden. (Color Plate Intro.2).

The Qianlong emperor, likely the wealthiest person in the world in his day, spent a great deal of time and money in the Garden of Perfect Brightness, building and embellishing the imperial gardens,[2] which he had inherited from his honored forebearers.

The Qianlong emperor governed diverse peoples, and his Garden of Perfect Brightness was a microcosm of his vast realm.[3] Like a bonsai garden (*penjing*), this imperial garden represented All Under Heaven (*Tianxia*) that is China, the Middle Kingdom, or the Qing empire. His choice of a bonsai world garden idea demonstrated his familiarity with the Han Chinese imperial garden tradition.[4] Hence, to study this one imperial garden is to study the Qing Empire in miniature.

To understand the meaning of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, however, requires some groundwork in basic Chinese garden theory; the cultural evolution of imperial garden design; and the use of ritual by the emperor as political symbol and metaphor.

THE GROUNDWORK: BASIC CHINESE GARDEN THEORY

It is generally known that the scholars of the Northern Song period (960-1126) set many of the aesthetic standards for Chinese art. During that time, landscape (*shan-shui*) emerged as the most revered genre of Chinese painting. Gardens are the three-dimensional counterpart of those landscape paintings. As Robert Harrist points out, private gardens, in which artificial landscapes were composed, satisfied the same taste for viewing representations of scenery that landscape painting served. Although the physical traces of the gardens built by Northern Song scholars have long since disappeared, literary sources and a few depictions enable us to grasp some basic features of their

design. They included extensive areas of water (*shui*) in streams and ponds and the construction of earthen mounds or the use of boulders to form artificial mountains (*shan*); they also included buildings that tended to be simple and single-storied and distributed in the garden area so as to convey a sense of a planned spaciousness and lack of clutter, and to provide proper and significant views.[5]

Any creator of a garden must design his architectural elements carefully, according to ancient (3rd-5th centuries B.C.) cosmological precepts such as the concept of feng shui, a part of the Daoist yin-yang school of thought. Yin and yang derived their names from the Chinese idea that the interaction of the opposites produced all phenomena. The garden designer must observe the cardinal rule of maintaining the balance of yin and yang, thereby perpetuating a good feng shui in his venue. For example, mountains are synonymous with the yang element of feng shui, and water is equated with the yin element.

Two studies that explain how the Chinese view heights as important in gardens are Kiyohiko Munakata's seminal work of sacred mountains in Chinese art, and Craig Clunas's treatise on garden culture in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Munakata explains not only why Chinese, and many people from other cultures, revered mountains, but also how their irrational or fantastic aspects were a part of a complex Chinese culture.[6] Proper landscaping can transform spaces into spirit places. In the sections on imperial and private gardens, Clunas fruitfully utilizes the metaphor of height to demonstrate Buddhist, Confucian, and Daoist dimensions in Ming gardens.[7] These two authors' seminal concepts enrich any study of the closest mountains to Beijing, on which were located three of the five gardens of the vast Garden of Perfect Brightness.

Every Chinese painter or designer of gardens[8] has to determine what elements are primary and what secondary: the natural features, such as the mountain, or the architecture humans placed on it. The artist or designer provides the basis for exploring whether the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors observed the time-honored traditions of Chinese artists/garden designers or whether they disturbed harmony by indulging in overbuilding in the Garden of Perfect Brightness.

CULTURAL HISTORY OF IMPERIAL GARDENS AND THE USE OF RITUAL THEMES

To understand the Qing imperial parks involves placing them in the context of a long and well-appreciated aesthetic tradition of Chinese garden building, which celebrated nature and fashioned evocative images of it. Rulers' gardens that flourished in the classical period in China also provided places for various activities and animals. Specifically, royal gardens had as their prototypes reserved hunting enclosures of antiquity.[9] This imperial custom appealed to the nomadic Manchu cultural traditions of the hunt. Selected examples reveal why Qing imperial gardens never completely lost this hunting element. Earlier imperial gardens also clarify the aesthetic and religious dimensions of various venues. To appreciate the allusive nature of site names likewise requires appreciating these seemingly diverse traditions of outstanding Chinese gardens, large and small.

Few specifics exist on Emperor Qin Shihuangdi's (r. 221-214 B.C.) famous preserve, the Supreme Forest (*Shanglin*), built outside his capital of Xianyang. In contrast, extant records reveal much about Emperor Han Wudi's (157-87 B.C.) imperial park of the same name, which seems to have been deliberately placed in the same region, south of Chang'an. Reportedly extending 400 li (about 130 miles) in circumference, the royal park was reserved for guests of state, who had been invited to such events as religious sacrifices or the annual winter hunt, a ritual spectacle of enormous proportions. Although Wudi's park retained sections of awe-inspiring wilderness, he also had fashioned thirty-six human-made structures, namely detached palaces and separate hostels as well as so-called divine ponds and numinous pools. To emphasize that his imperial park was a replica of the cosmos, he stocked it with rare animals, from as far away as Mesopotamia, India, and northern Vietnam. One source says more than 3,000 plant species bloomed in the garden, which also featured valuable stones and a tree of coral with 462 branches.

To grasp the symbolic qualities of this park, it helps to picture it as a mandala of the universe, as is apparent from the orderly arrangement of its components. Animals, which were essential garden components, were situated in different quarters depending on their place of origin; vegetation, another essential garden element, was planted accordingly. Reportedly, the rivers never froze in the southern sector, even in winter! Interesting, too, was the custom of naming certain spots for famous distant places. Thus the Inherited Clarity Pool (*Kunming Chi*), the appellation of an artificial lake dug in 120 B.C. in the Supreme Forest, was a replica of one in the southern kingdom of Kunming or Tian, which blocked the trade route to India. In 107 B.C. the emperor finally succeeded in conquering the Kunming kingdom because he had used this replicated lake in the Supreme Forest as a training ground for the upcoming battles. Believing that by artificially

creating it, he magically wielded power over it, the emperor symbolically anticipated his conquest.

One notable development recorded during the decentralized times following the fall of the Han dynasty was the appearance of small-scale private gardens which were more aesthetically subtle and less ostentatious than the royal mega-parks. Rockery, created from piled stones, represented mountains, and they became more important than exotic animals.[10] By the Tang dynasty (616-907) when China had again become a unified power, a tradition of maintaining royal parks and private gardens was already firmly established. The imperial domain, known as the Forbidden Parkland (*Jin Yuan*), was located northwest of the capital of Chang'an. It was 120 li (about 40 miles) in circumference, and the Son of Heaven hunted there with his dragon-horses.[11] This garden's main purpose was still the interrelationship of religion and hunting; that is, meat from the hunt was offered in sacrifice. But the hunting exercise was also linked to warfare: visiting dignitaries to the garden viewed military maneuvers that demonstrated the emperor's power. In other words, the Tang modeled their parks on the Han imperial parks as to usage (agriculture, fishing, hunting, and military maneuvers) and practices (limited to aristocrats). Aristocrats at imperial or private country estates appreciated gardens as places to perform aesthetic activities and to relax away from the capital.[12]

This garden tradition continued to thrive and proliferate during the Song Dynasty (960-1279) in several imperial pleasure parks as well as in numerous private country estates, particularly in Luoyang and Kaifeng. But the royal park in Kaifeng, erected in the waning years of the Northern Song dynasty by Emperor Huizong (r. 1101-1125), differed from its private counterparts by its massiveness,[13] its mountain landscapes, its rare plants, and its precious minerals. Whether imperial competitive hunts ever took place in any of the royal gardens, or whether the enormous variety of the exotic animals the emperor acquired were merely wondrous sights, is still unclear,[14] but their presence reveals that even Song gardens had hunting remnants.

The Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) spent much leisure time in the lakeside palaces of the Western Park within the Imperial City. They also had a hunting park outside the Forbidden City (*Zijinchen*), which their imperial successors used.[15] The Zhengde emperor (r. 1506-21) kept a great number of fierce animals at this park. In contrast, the Wanli emperor (r. 1573-1620) ordered that all the tigers be starved to death because he had dreamed that one had bitten him.[16] During the mid-Ming, the art of garden design reached its height in cities south of the Yangzi River, notably in Suzhou. By

this period the tradition of retired scholars often depicted their own private garden retreats or those of friends in garden scrolls.[17] By this period, too, hunting parties, which had previously been reserved for royalty and selected guests, had become part of the festivities of the Chinese people as evidenced in the painting of the Memorial Day (*Qingming*) Festival by Zhang Zeduan, entitled *Going Up the River at Qingming*.[18]

Manchu emperors of the Qing dynasty were like the Chinese rulers of every preceding dynasty; they each had imperial gardens replete with palaces, aesthetic venues, open spaces for various activities, and animal enclosures. The latter element indicates that hunting in a garden was never completely abandoned. All rulers hosted banquets and hunting rituals for their guests, but none rivaled those in the Qing imperial gardens, the Garden of Perfect Brightness near Beijing and the Imperial Mountain Resort for Escaping the Heat (*Bishu shanzhuang*) beyond the Great Wall at Chengde.

Manchu emperors followed the tradition of reserving certain venues in imperial gardens to foster the warrior and hunting traditions. The Kangxi emperor established the Mulan hunting grounds in 1681 (twentieth year of the Kangxi reign) for those purposes. He went there forty-eight times during his reign, and, even in his later years, loved to tabulate how many animals he had successfully felled.[19] Maintaining hunting abilities was important to the Manchus for although the emperor encouraged the children of Eight Banner (Manchu military) families to sign up for the imperial civil service examinations that required proficiency in the Chinese classics, only those who attained the required standards in the Manchu language, horsemanship, and archery were allowed to sit for the literary examination.[20] His grandson, the Qianlong emperor, was the last to continue the tradition of the imperial hunt.

Throughout the dynasties, there existed a persistent interplay of two opposing traditions or ways of life: the military tradition (*wu*) and the civilian tradition (*wen*), but both found expressions in Chinese garden design. Some dynasties, such as the Qing, and perhaps the Tang, had more *wu* than others, though they were great *wen* dynasties as well.[21]

A ROAD MAP AND QIANLONG'S USE OF RITUAL AS POLITICAL SYMBOL AND METAPHOR

Today, sightseeing guides are available for the main area of the Garden of Perfect Brightness or one of its four adjoining imperial gardens, collectively known as Three Mountains and Five Gardens. They may even refer to the Qianlong emperor's *Forty Favorite Scenes* of the main garden.[22] Other available depictions are twenty engravings of his European sector. But the only contemporary guidebook documenting Qianlong's daily activities and his routes through the garden, by palanquin, on foot, or on horseback, in the twenty-first year of his reign (1756, a leap year), has only recently been published. This guide, the Clothing Records, was written by various officials of the wardrobe department of the Imperial Household Department (*Neiwufu*).[23] As such, the records were unofficial and never intended for publication. Hence, they provide a valuable, unembellished source of information, vital to our understanding of the emperor's notions of what elements he thought composed a Chinese imperial garden, and, thus, provide a glimpse of his mind and worldview through the organization of these imperial gardens.

The Garden of Perfect Brightness's main garden was by far the most important of the five imperial gardens. Chinese likened it to the moon, while the other four venues were surrounding bright stars. Since the Yongzheng and the Qianlong emperors lived at the Garden of Perfect Brightness much longer than in Beijing's Forbidden City, they erected in it many administrative, religious, recreational, and other structures. Its numerous buildings were not only the most elaborate, but also the richest in decorative treasures.

Unlike his grandfather and father, Qianlong was thoroughly steeped in Han Chinese culture, which mattered at least as much to him as his Manchu identity. No doubt these different worlds clashed at times. In the very act of creating the Garden of Perfect Brightness, the emperor seemed to be experiencing a catharsis from his inner conflicts. He was fashioning the locus for an ideal society of the morally perfect, in the Confucian sense: the powerful magical and reclusive hermits, inspired by ancient Daoist and peasant myths; and the newly integrated peoples of the northwest steppes, particularly the frugal, simple, fearless warriors epitomized by his Manchu and Mongol ancestors, his revered mother, and his beloved wife, the Xiaoxian empress.

As Rolf Stein insightfully concludes, Qianlong's taste for gardens, including miniature gardens, elucidated not just an expression of aesthetic or even philosophical concerns.[24] Certainly, Qianlong's taste for the garden traditions of north and south China (the latter especially after his six Southern Tours, which began in 1751) was also related to the extremely strong religious and magical traditions of the multiethnic peoples he governed.

Qianlong's recorded activities within these gardens in 1756 and the documentary works housed there reinforce our assessment of his political acumen in using the Yuanming Yuan as his World Garden to symbolize his control over the diverse peoples he ruled. As patron for six decades of the compilers and creators of all kinds of architecture, art, and literature for his Garden of Perfect Brightness or his Garden of the World in Miniature, the emperor was demonstrating the ancient conceit noted by Pamela Kyle Crossley: he was the point around which all cultures articulated.[25] Some of the Garden of Perfect Brightness's innovative and all-inclusive elements were represented in the Qianlong period by profuse multilingual inscriptions, even from far-off Europe.

Since evidence abounds that this emperor worried more than did his predecessors about the increasing assimilation of the Manchu bannermen militia to Chinese ways, why was he so concerned with creating a visible entity that harmonized all races and cultures? Some scholars interpret this imperial garden as a major example of Qianlong's *grande geste*. Others interpret it as a laudable attempt to preserve both the steppe and Han heritages. Careful analysis of his rituals for the various festivities in the Garden of Perfect Brightness in 1756 reveals someone capable of interrelating ritual activity and the wider Chinese political world as well as Manchu culture and its traditions.

It is evident from the Clothing Records that, like his father and grandfather, the Qianlong emperor earned his reputation as a hardworking monarch. He had to keep abreast of the increasing flood of paperwork relating to China's unparalleled growth in area and in population because of the increased peace and prosperity in the early Qing. Like the early Tang rulers, it was imperative for the Qing monarchs to expand state activities without antagonizing their diverse constituents. They were attempting to generate additional legitimization in a variety of ways. The imperial government, for example, assumed authority over genealogical records, which clans traditionally had kept. Significantly, when Qianlong assiduously performed religious rituals in 1756 at the many magnificent Garden of Perfect Brightness temples and shrines of the different faiths of his multiethnic peoples, he was not just symbolically embracing groups, such as the Tibetans and Mongolians, into an extended family; he was actually assuming Qing authority even over spiritual sectors. The Kangxi emperor had given land in Beijing and elsewhere to Matteo Ricci, S.J. (*Li Madou*, 1552-1610) and the other Jesuits who served at his court to be used for their churches and a cemetery, and Qianlong continued to honor his grandfather's action, acknowledging these Europeans as also part of his realm.[26]

The emperor particularly patronized literature and the arts just as his grandfather had patronized the sciences. Qianlong carefully supervised his court artists and editors, even to the point of interference and censorship. He was a constant presence at the artists' atelier in the Imperial Painting Academy (*Ruyi Guan*), which lay within easy distance of his main living quarters.

Finally, the emperor received audiences and fêted his family and servitors in one of several venues, once again demonstrating his pivotal imperial role, not merely as the first Manchu among Manchus, but also as the point of unity and authority for all his diverse peoples. (Color Plate Intro. 2) In all these activities, Qianlong was acting as a politician or filial son/respected father. He injected himself into the routine of bu-reaucratic or familial affairs, warrior and peasant life, by co-opting activities formerly performed by clan-based sectors of his diverse societies. He also epitomized and valued Manchu and Han Chinese traditions. The Garden of Perfect Brightness was his Garden of the World in Miniature.

ROAD GUIDES TO THE BEIJING WESTERN SUBURBAN REGION

The western suburb of Beijing south of the Great Wall and all the way to the foot of the Western Hills, encompasses an area of about one hundred square miles.[27] This immense area features many old temples and gardens[28] because of its natural waters and mountains. Chief among the gardens was the early Qing emperors' Garden of Perfect Brightness, featuring three natural mountains and five imperial parks.

After the destruction caused by Han Chinese resistance to the Manchu takeover of China in 1644, the rulers modernized not only the Beijing of the Ming and the Mongol emperors, but also the historic western area in question—all without harming its rich traditional environment. Yet today when one explores contemporary Beijing and the Garden of Perfect Brightness, one encounters areas badly damaged during the Anglo-French incident of 1860, the Boxer Uprising of 1900, the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and the ensuing Civil War and its aftermath. As these areas were rebuilt with Western, particularly Soviet, technology, there was a resulting loss of the historic urban environment. But Beijing and its environs managed to retain some of its heritage despite the wars. Before the turn of the twentieth century, it modernized the environment (in the sense of making it more hygienic, comfortable, and practical) without destroying the traditional environment and culture.

THE THREE MOUNTAINS AND FIVE GARDENS' HISTORY

Table 1 shows the five gardens of the Garden of Perfect Brightness and their three respective natural mountains and additional artificial hills.

Table 1: Gardens and Mountains of the Garden of Perfect Brightness (The Garden of the World in Miniature)

Five Gardens	Three Mountains
Garden of Perfect Brightness (*Yuanming Yuan*) (the main garden)	Artificial Hills
Garden of Everlasting Spring (*Changchun Yuan*) or the annex	Artificial Hills--Chinese sector in the south; European sector in the north
Garden of the Clear Ripples (*Qingyi Yuan*), renamed Garden of Nurtured Harmony (*Yihe Yuan*)	Myriad Longevity Hill (*Wanshou Shan*)
Garden of Tranquil Luminescence (*Jingming Yuan*)	Jade Spring Hill (*Yuquan Shan*)
Garden of Quiet Delight (*Jingyi Yuan*)	Fragrant Hill (*Xiang Shan*)

The main garden of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, near Haidian, was in an area, which had earlier featured many smaller gardens, but had no natural mountains. The Qing garden's official name, given by the Kangxi emperor in 1709,[29] was the Garden of Perfect Brightness. While dwelling in his own Jiangnan-inspired residence, called the Garden of Joyful Spring (*Changchun Yuan*), not to be confused with the Qianlong's annex with a similar sounding name, the Kangxi emperor enjoyed visiting its lakes and waterways,[30] and prepared the site as a gift to his son and successor, the Yongzheng emperor. Though the new emperor gave up visiting the Garden of Perfect Brightness during the prescribed three-year mourning period for his father,[31] he made it his chief residence immediately after his mourning ended. The Yongzheng emperor ordered structures to be erected that would allow him to hold court in the Garden and also to use it for recreational and religious purposes. Despite Yongzheng's best efforts at beautifying and enlarging his favored residence, they cannot compare with those of his son and heir, the Qianlong emperor, who embellished and expanded the main garden and its four satellites to their fullest splendor. While the main garden of the Garden of Perfect Brightness covered 875 acres (slightly larger than Central Park, New York, and more than four times the grounds at the Chateau of Versailles, France, in its prime), the five gardens together covered some 2,280 acres.

Qianlong's successor, the Jiaqing emperor (r. 1796-1820), continued building, chiefly in the unfinished southeastern region, that had served Qianlong as a scenic extension of his Garden of Everlasting Spring annex, as its name, Garden of Blossoming Spring (*Qichun*

Yuan), implies.[32] The new architectural elements ordered by the Jaiqing emperor revealed he possessed little of the creativity of his father,[33] who had well understood the importance of buildings in Chinese gardens. As Chen Congzhou, a leading contemporary Chinese scholar in the history of gardens, stated, buildings come first while trees, rocks, and other major elements are only ornaments and are therefore of secondary importance.[34]

After the Anglo-French forces left in 1860, later conflicts and nature progressively devastated whatever remained of the original Garden of Perfect Brightness. The Boxers and the Sino-Japanese War took a toll. Once its various pines and bamboos had been burned or pilfered, all its artificial earthen hills were leveled by nature. Starting in the 1980s, the Chinese government initiated restoration efforts, replanting trees on the eroded hill sites, digging up the rice fields of encroachers, and clearing lakes.

The Garden of Everlasting Spring, built by the Qianlong emperor, lacked natural mountains. This eastern annex of the Garden of Perfect Brightness was almost a square and covered over 133.5 acres by one estimate.[35] During his six Southern Tours, the emperor encountered famous private literati gardens in the Jiangnan area south of the Yangzi River. He created similar venues in the large southern sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, but he ordered the Jesuits serving at his court to design a European-style sector in the small northern strip. Today, only the marble ruins of the rococo buildings in that part of the annex survive.

The garden on the Myriad Longevity Hill, which was originally called Jar Hill (*Weng Shan*), was officially named the Garden of the Clear Ripples by the Qianlong emperor. The Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908) changed it to the Garden of Nurtured Harmony, when she partially restored it at the end of the nineteenth century. Today it is referred to by the latter name, or simply as the Summer Palace. About twelve miles northwest of central Beijing, it covers about 725 acres. Its hill is part natural and part artificial.

The garden on the Jade Spring Hill, sited directly west of the Summer Palace, is called the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence. Though a smaller garden, covering about 146.25 acres, its mountain is the first natural prominence encountered west of the capital. The Garden's flat environs are extensive and its spring waters are plentiful and pure. Both the Kangxi and the Qianlong emperors utilized the resources and setting, enhancing it with suitable structures.[36]

The garden on the Fragrant Hill is built on a comparatively steep foothill of the Western Hills. Officially named the Garden of Quiet Delight, it was popularly known as a hunting park. About fifteen miles from central Beijing, it covers about 400 acres. With recent restoration

efforts, visitors may once again marvel at its seasonal beauty, although no original structures exist today.[37]

Among the numerous other imperial and private gardens situated around the Garden of Perfect Brightness were its southeastern Garden of Blossoming Spring, already mentioned, the Kangxi emperor's own Garden of Joyful Spring, and various princes' palace gardens.

The Garden of Perfect Brightness was by far the most important of the five imperial gardens or the other gardens in the western suburbs of Beijing, and elsewhere. With its intertwining political, aesthetic, religious, and philosophical components, its making and meaning deserve attention.

NOTES

1. It therefore differs from Y. T. Wong's *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden, Yuanming Yuan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001) which is largely limited to the main garden, its eastern annex with a Western sector (the subject of a scholarly study by Michèle Pirazzoli T'Serstevens and a French équippe), and a third southern sector only finished later.

2. Other gardens include the three Imperial Sea gardens adjacent to the Forbidden City, the Summer Palace beyond the Great Wall at Chengde in northeastern Hebei province, and other smaller ones too numerous to account for here.

3. Though this study indicates some of the contributions of Qianlong's father and grandfather to the Garden of Perfect Brightness, it is beyond its scope to provide a detailed examination.

4. Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. Phyllis Brooks (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), xxi-xxvi. We shall discuss the development of these gardens in Chapter 5 on the Garden of Quiet Delight and learn that emperors of previous dynasties employed the cosmic theme in their respective parks. Some even struggled, as did the Qianlong emperor, with the tension created between the *wen* or literary theme and the *wu* or military elements of their gardens.

5. Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "Art and Identity in the Northern Sung Dynasty: Evidence from Gardens," in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan*, ed. Maxwell Hearn and Judith Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996): 148-49.

6. Kiyohiko Munakata, *Sacred Mountains in Chinese Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 2.

7. Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 139, 174-76, 223 n79.

8. June Li states that designers of gardens were painters. See her "*Zhi Yuan Tu*: Views of a Late Ming Dynasty Garden," in June Li and James Cahill, *Paintings of Zhi Garden by Zhang Hong: Revisiting a Seventeenth-Century Chinese Garden* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1996), 6.

9. Although there are some Chinese studies, the most thorough study is Edward H. Schafer, "Hunting Parks and Animal Enclosures in Ancient China," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 11 (1968): 318-43.

10. For a discussion of these elements and types of garden, see Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art & Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1978). For a thorough study of rocks in Chinese gardens, consult John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art* (New York: China House Gallery, China Institute of America, 1985).

11. According to Edward H. Schafer, in *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 66, foreign horses received in the imperial pasture were branded to show their agility and stamina, such as dragon or flying. The Heavenly Park was the poetical name for the venue where the Son of Heaven hunted with his dragon-horses. See also Schafer, "Hunting Parks in China," 339-40.

12. James Hargett, "Huizong's Magic Marchmount," *Monumenta Serica* 38 (1988-1989): 4-5.

13. Ibid., 16. Its perimeter extended for at least 3.47 miles.

14. Even more specifics of the Trigram Mountain and a translated source are included in Hargett's article, ibid., 28-31.

15. According to Carroll Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1934), 44, the Kangxi emperor of the Qing dynasty suddenly took ill in 1722 in this southern hunting park. He returned to the *Changchun Yuan* where he died at age 68.

16. I would like to thank Albert Chan, S.J., for sharing materials from his unpublished study of Beijing under the Ming Dynasty. See also Gai Jiemin 蓋傑民 [James Geiss], "Ming Wuzong yu Baofang" 明武宗與豹房 (The Ming Emperor Wuzong and his daily life in Baofang Palace), in *Gugong Bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊, 3 (1988): 12-18, for specifics on the hunting parks built by the predecessors of the Zhengde emperor as well as for details of his own Leopard House.

17. See the note of warning and garden descriptions in Fang-Tu Lien-che, "Ming Gardens," in *Papers on Far Eastern History* (Canberra), 22 (September 1980): 3-15.

18. Alan Priest, "Spring Festival on the River," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 6.10 (June 1948): 280-92. In the Bahr

collection, the hunting party of aristocrats leaves the main road and ascends twisting mountain paths to reach a remote hunting ground. A simpler version of the scroll possessed by the same museum moves from an abbreviated military display back to the river and a pageant of dragon and other boats. One reason is that waterways and boats characterize southern China, while mountains and the hunt emphasized by the Bahr version are more in keeping with northern traditions and Beijing, which became the Ming capital in 1421.

19. According to Yan Chongnian, *Beijing: The Treasures of an Ancient Capital*, Arnold Chao et al., trans. (Beijing: Morning Glory Press, 1987), 190.

20. Wan Yi et al., eds. and comps., *Daily Life in the Forbidden City* (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1985), 74.

21. See Derk Bodde, *Chinese Thought, Society and Science* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 299-305, for a discussion of these two traditions.

22. Painted by artists of Qianlong's Painting Academy, they are now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

23. Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 179.

24. Stein, *The World in Miniature*, 112-13.

25. Pamela Kyle Crossley, "*Manzhou yuanliu kao* and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46:4 (November 1987): 779-80.

26. The leaders of the People's Republic have continued the state control of religious institutions and rituals.

27. Zhao Guanghua 趙光華, "*Yuanming Yuan: Zhongguo liangqian nian fengjian shehui wenhua yishu . . .*" 圓明園：中國兩千年封建社會文化藝術 ("*Yuanming Yuan:* a gem condensed out of a tradition of arts and culture for 2,000 years at its last peak"), in *Yuanming Yuan quanjingtu*, 圓明園全景圖 by Wang Jingzhi 王勁枝 and Zhang Dexiang 張得翔 (Liaoning, 1990), 19. (Journal hereafter cited as *Pictorial Yuanming Yuan*.)

28. The traditional expression Old Summer Palace refers to this immense garden and old temple region west of Beijing and south of the Great Wall, extending all the way to the foot of the Western Hills on its west. The term is also used to distinguish the entire Garden of Perfect Brightness from the New Summer Palace, referring to the sector rebuilt at the end of the nineteenth century by Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908), after its destruction in 1860.

29. Huang Taopeng 黃韜朋 and Huang Zhongjun 黃鐘駿, *Yuanming Yuan* 圓明園 (Hong Kong: *Sanlian shudian xianggong fendian*, 1985), 144.

30. On November 6 and December 7, 1686, the emperor ordered Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. assisted by Antoino Thomas, S.J. to measure the declivity of certain rivers flowing near the Garden of Perfect Brightness, seemingly in order to prevent flooding to the garden. Report by Antonio Thomas on works on the Garden of Perfect Brightness, entitled “Annotationes seu commentarii rerum praecipuorum ad propagationem fidei in Sina”. . . Jesuit Roman Archives, Jap. Sin. 150, ff [folio?] 123-50.

31. *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan* 中國第一歷史檔案館 ed., *Yuanming Yuan: Qingdai dang'an shiliao* 圓明園清代檔案史料 (*Yuanming Yuan* historical materials from the Qing archives), 2 vols. (Shanghai: *Guji chubanshe*, 1991), 1: 8-9, fifteenth day of the second Chinese month, third year of the Yongzheng reign. (Hereafter cited as *YMY Sources*.)

32. It was only incorporated into the Garden of Perfect Brightness in 1770, late in the Qianlong era, and was later renamed Ten Thousand Springs Garden. (*Yuanming Yuan yizhi gongyuan* 圓明園遺址公園 [*Yuanming Yuan* park: an eternal moment]), (Beijing: *Zhongguo wenxue chubanshe*, 1998), 64. (Hereafter cited as *Yuanming Yuan Park*).

33. Geremie Barmé, “The Garden of Perfect Brightness, A Life in Ruins,” *East Asian History* (Australia) (June 1996): 131-52. Barmé provides a detailed analysis of the imperial garden’s decline and recent limited restoration and its partial conversion into an amusement park.

34. Chen Congzhou 陳從周, *Shuo Yuan* 說園 (On Chinese gardens), (Shanghai: Tonji University Press, 1984), 27.

35. He Zhongyi 何重義 and Zeng Zhaofen 曾昭奮, *Yuanming Yuan yuanlin yishu* 圓明園 園林藝術 [*The Garden Art of the Yuanming Yuan*], (Beijing: *Kexue chubanshe*, 1995), 247. A more recent study, *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 26, states that the sector covered about thirty acres by 1772.

36. Currently no visitors may admire the few venues that survived marauders, since the garden serves as a villa for the highest officials of the People’s Republic of China.

37. A foreign eyewitness account revealed that the structures were almost totally leveled by the early twentieth century, as we shall see.

Chapter One

Experiencing the Garden of Perfect Brightness (*Yuanming Yuan*)

Qianlong had two routes he could follow when traversing the western region of the capital to his Garden of Perfect Brightness in 1756 (twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign). He could follow the land route from the Forbidden City (*Zijincheng*) in central Beijing to the Garden of Perfect Brightness proper or he could take the water/land route from the Garden of Perfect Brightness proper to any of his four other imperial gardens associated with that name. It was via the land route that the emperor travelled during the Chinese New Year Festival in 1756 on the eighth day of the first Chinese month.[1] For this and other days, the records give detailed accounts of the emperor's movements. The eighth day of the first Chinese month was the first of the 168 days that the Qianlong emperor spent at the Garden of Perfect Brightness during 1756.

It is immediately evident that this was a public ritual day full of activities. The emperor performed Confucian, Buddhist, Daoist, and New Year rituals in a number of places: first within the Forbidden City in Beijing; next at one of the many old, no longer extant, temples en route to the Garden of Perfect Brightness; and, last, at no fewer than six sites within the Garden. Also of interest are the individuals and groups the emperor greeted that day. Finally, at one of his more private palaces, he rested and changed his attire, removing his Buddhist beads before dining, according to an observant wardrobe official.[2] The land route he used from the capital to the Garden of Perfect Brightness that day is marked on the accompanying map. (Fig.

1.1)

In all, this official's account tells of Qianlong's visits to two edifices within the Forbidden City and eleven specific buildings within the Garden of Perfect Brightness, along with the rituals he performed in each place. Along the seven-mile route, his means of conveyance included not only the four- and eight-man-carried palanquins, sometimes illuminated and warmed for the early winter hours, but also a sleigh (*tuochuang*) to traverse the frozen waters of man-made routes within the main garden. (Fig. 1.2 & Fig. 1.3)

One of two important people encountered that day at the Garden of Perfect Brightness was his mother the Empress Xiaosheng (1693-1777) to whom he was devoted, almost to a fault.[3] (Color Plate 1.1) On this busy first imperial tour of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, he went to inquire about her health. The emperor frequently expressed his filial devotion to her during 1756, as we shall see: for example, he offered pre-breakfast salutations at one of her places of residence in the nearby Garden of Joyful Spring (*Changchun Yuan*) built by the Kangxi emperor and referred to as the Front Garden (*Qian Yuan*) in the Clothing Records.[4] The long-lived Xiaosheng was the granddaughter of Eidu (1562-1621) of the Niohuru clan, a courageous, longtime associate of Nurhaci (1559-1626), the founder of the Qing dynasty.[5] Eidu was so loyal that he even killed his own son for showing disrespect toward the Manchu founder's sons. The Empress Xiaosheng's Manchu values were impeccable, as were those of the Qianlong emperor's beloved Xiaoxian empress (1712-1748), the granddaughter of Mishan (1632-1675), another Manchu notable who had been one of the few who counseled the young Kangxi emperor in 1673 to abolish the Three Feudatories.[6]

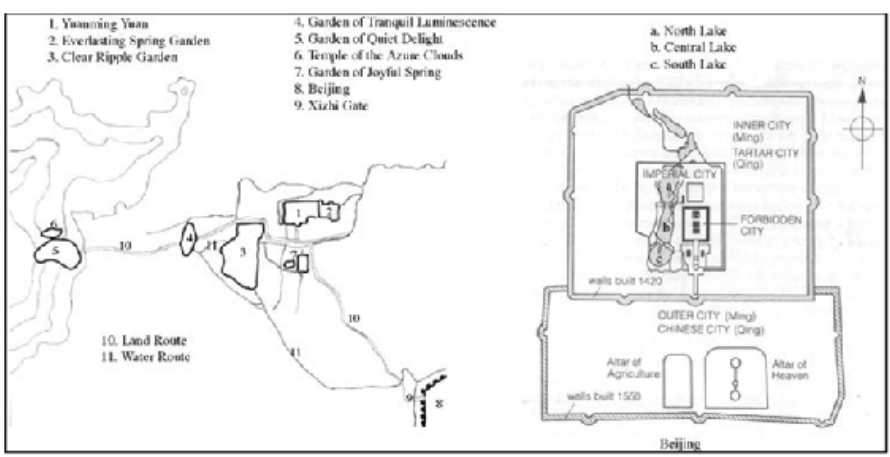


Figure 1.1 Map of the Garden of Perfect Brightness's (*Yuanming Yuan*) five gardens in region west of Beijing. (Siu family collection).

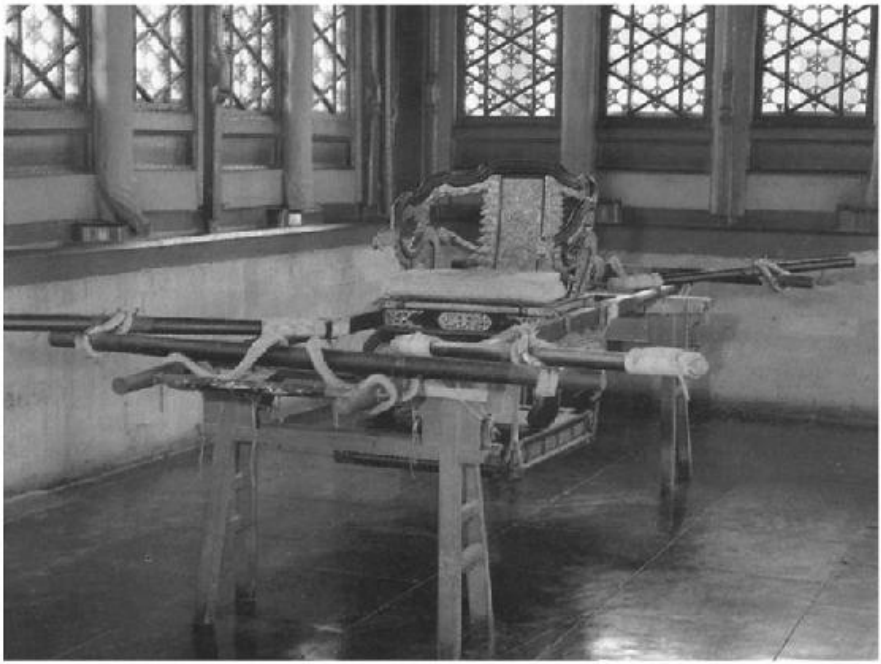


Figure 1.2 Eight-man palanquin. (Siu family collection).

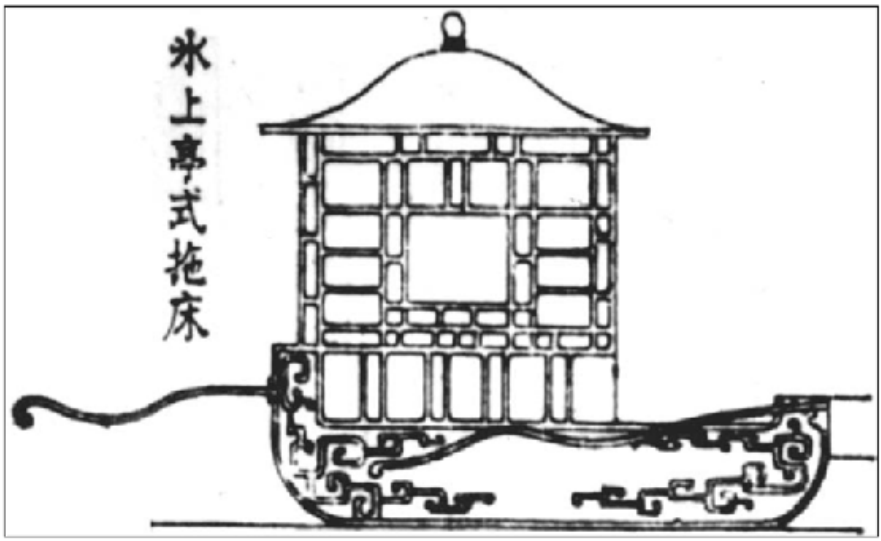


Figure 1.3 Sleigh. (Siu family collection).

It seems that both women influenced Qianlong, wisely. For example, Norman Kutcher recently praised the Empress Xiaoxian precisely for embodying the simpler Manchu values of her ancestors, thereby reminding her husband of them. Upon her death from malaria in 1748, after some twenty years of marriage, the emperor's powerful love for her made him unwilling to replace her with the imperial-

honored consort, as tradition demanded. In the end, however, the Qianlong emperor followed the wishes of his mother, the Empress Dowager, and took another empress.[7]

From the emperor's subsequent actions, it seems evident, that he depended even more on his mother's advice, following both cherished Manchu customs (including the high status of women) and his obvious understanding of the Chinese filial tradition. The historical record of the emperor's relationships with both women, then, demonstrates the intimate connection between family life and public politics characteristic of both Manchu and Chinese society. Furthermore, placing women at the center of historical analysis challenges both centuries of scholarship labeling Chinese women as victims of traditional culture (*wen*) liberated by Western education and values; and more recent Western scholarly efforts to impose the civil-society paradigm on imperial Chinese history. Both views are criticized now as impeding our understanding of the culture and history of Ming and Qing China.[8]

On the Qianlong emperor's first day at the Garden of Perfect Brightness in 1756, he also met a representative of the seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757), who had received that title in the Potala on October 16, 1720.[9] This supreme Tibetan political-religious leader sent a ritual gift of a red book to the Qianlong emperor to commemorate his first imperial tour of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. In China there was a long tradition of auspiciousness associated with a red book with charms written in vermillion,[10] so the Dalai Lama was probably sending this gift as a particularly auspicious blessing to the suzerain of the Middle Kingdom to ward off evils during the ensuing year. We note also from Qianlong's ritual of acceptance how concerned he was with harmonizing race with culture through creating a comprehensive cultural structure upon the Qing polity, with the emperorship as its integrating center.[11]

It is obvious from the emperor's extensive list of religious and filial rituals performed at each locale in his Garden of Perfect Brightness on this day and on ensuing days, that this garden, like all Chinese gardens, embodied the very ideals to which all scholars from the emperor on down aspired. Indeed, a Chinese emperor's whole sense of being and purpose was ceremonial within the greater Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist context.

The 1756 Clothing Records reveal the water and land route used by the Qianlong emperor and his entourage on the strenuous sixteenth day of the tenth Chinese month. It is the only day that he graced with his presence all five gardens of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, a mammoth task undertaken just after the autumn chill had returned to such a degree that the emperor rode in a sleigh for part of the journey.

Significantly, the entry for the next day reveals a limited schedule within the Garden of Perfect Brightness, with only a restful visit to the eastern Garden of Everlasting Spring (*Changchun Yuan*) annex he had built. (This garden should not be confused with Kangxi's similarly sounding, in Chinese, Garden of Joyful Spring.)

THE LANTERN FESTIVAL (*DENG JIE*) OR THE FEAST OF THE FIRST FULL MOON (*YUANXIAO JIE*) IN THE GARDEN OF PERFECT BRIGHTNESS (FIFTEENTH DAY OF THE FIRST CHINESE MONTH)

Following one of the emperor's walking tours of the Garden of Perfect Brightness in some detail familiarizes us not only with the major routes, but also with what functions the six main venues, which the Qianlong emperor frequented, served at the end of the Chinese New Year festivities, that is, the Lantern Festival:

> [At] Great Light of Righteousness (*Zhengda Guangming*), an audience hall, feasted. From back port rode sleigh to the Palace of Peaceful Protection (*Anyou Gong*) to kowtow; took *Experiencing the Garden of Perfect Brightness (* Yuanming Yuan *)* 5 four-man, warmed-palanquin to a Buddhist temple [unnamed] to offer Buddhist rituals; to the Garden of Shared Joy (*Tongle Yuan*), took four-man, warmed palanquin, for in-motion viewing (*youxing*); waited for Mother at the same place to breakfast. Rode sleigh to various places at the Garden of Everlasting Spring, offered Buddhist rituals; took four-man, warmed palanquin to Perfect Light Gate (*Yuanguang Men*); [a procession] led to Great Light of Righteousness. When finished, by palanquin to the New Autumn Pavilion's (*Shengqiu Ting*) dock, the gold incense burners were temporarily extinguished; rode sleigh to the Garden of Shared Joy.
>
> At the 12-2 p.m. period, rode sleigh to Nine Peaceful Continents (*Jiuzhou Qingyan*), ordinarily called Nine Continents, led [guests of honor] to a venue in the inner courtyard to dine. At 2-4 p.m., offered up [in a ritual] some sweet dumplings before eating some; then rested awhile. Rode sleigh to Cross-shaped Pavilion (*Shizi Ting*) dock, took four-man, warmed palanquin to Tall Mountain, Long River (*Shangao Shuichang*).
>
> [The emperor], led there by Mongol Princes, lower Mongolian nobility, and others, watched wrestling, firecrackers, and fireworks displays; then rode palanquin, preceded by people bearing flower-handled lanterns, to Cross-shaped Pavilion. Rode sleigh to Nine Continents to complete the rituals for and to partake of some sweet dumplings.

> Rode sleigh to the Garden of Shared Joy's Front Dock. Two sets of bearers carrying flower-handled lanterns again led the procession to Eternal Day Hall (*Yongri Tang*), then to the Sravasti Complex (*Shewei Cheng*) to offer Buddhist rituals. To the Garden of Shared Joy to watch the lantern dance; then to Front Dock, took sleigh, returning to Nine Continents to retire. It was the day to carry rifles and wear swords. In charge of setting off fireworks was the Grand Eunuch.12

The origin of the Lantern Festival is unclear, but from ancient times through the Ming and Qing dynasties, people conducted devotional ceremonies to usher in light and warmth after the cold winter and to beg for plentiful spring rains. The brilliant display of elaborate and widely diverse lanterns was and remains the main attraction of the festival. By the Tang dynasty (618-906), the festival had expanded into a three-day holiday, and nighttime curfews were lifted so commoners and courtiers could enjoy the ceremonies. Perhaps imperial approval of the festival was an affirmation of the empire's peace and prosperity.13 In the Qing dynasty, varied lanterns, including the unique ice lanterns, adorned the imperial palaces in the Forbidden City and the Garden of Perfect Brightness.14 The 1756 Clothing Records for the Lantern Festival confirm that attendants bearing gold or flowered lanterns preceded the Qianlong emperor along his itinerary to various venues, including major temples, to complete the New Year rituals. At more open spaces, he and his guests watched firework displays, wrestling performances, and dances. (Fig. 1.4)

First on the Order of the Day for the Lantern Festival, however, was the Qianlong emperor's Confucian ceremony at the Palace of Peaceful Protection complex in the Vast Compassion and Eternal Blessing (*Hongci Yonghu*) sector, located in the northwest corner of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Performing the rituals of the major religions was so important in traditional China as to be classified as one of the two main responsibilities of the emperor (the other being the defense of the nation.) The early Qing emperors took great care to build magnificent temples and shrines in which to worship throughout the Garden of Perfect Brightness. To venerate his ancestors Qianlong erected another outstanding venue within this complex in 1742.15

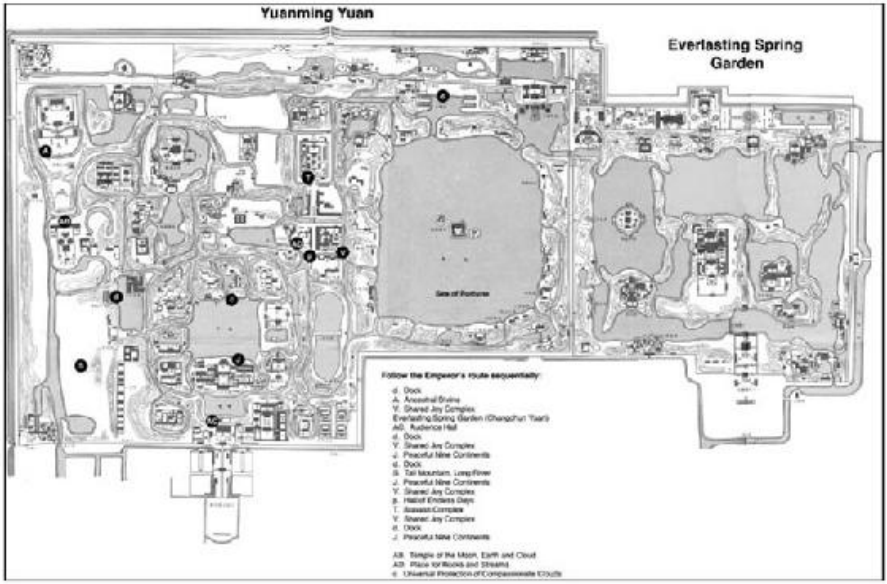


Figure 1.4 Route for Lantern Festival (*Deng Jie*), 1756, within the Garden of Perfect Brightness proper. (Siu family collection).

The ancestral shrine associated with Confucianism was perhaps the most spacious of all temples. It surpassed the numerous Buddhist and Daoist shrines in the imperial park, for, by tradition, Chinese monarchs, like their subjects, always showed the deepest attachments to their own ancestors. In order to be accepted by their subjects, the early Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty espoused more Confucian traditions than did the Mongol conquerors of the Yuan dynasty, as the 1756 Clothing Records of the Qianlong emperor confirm.

To appreciate what this Garden of Perfect Brightness temple site was like, one must now rely on illustrations and descriptions, as the structures were all destroyed and looted by Anglo-French troops in 1860. Apparently, no European eyewitness accounts of the ancestral shrine exist, but we have the earlier imperial engraving (*tongban*) of the ancestral shrine by the court artists, Shen Yuan and Tang Dai, which is based on the *Forty Favorite Scenes* that is now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[16] (Fig. 1.5)

The two artists depicted the immense temple amid tall hills and trees, with numerous dependent halls, pavilions, arches, bridges, and cloud pillars (*hua biao*). In the engraving, but not in the painting, one sees two sets of pillars on either side of the first arches of the venue. A surviving pair now graces an administrative building at Beijing University. (Color Plate 1.2) Not only did all the buildings of the ancestral shrine feature roofs of glazed or enamel tiles (*liuli*), but marbles and elaborate workmanship characterized the venue. The Qianlong emperor explained the origin of the shrine and described it

in an imperial poem, which was recorded and inscribed by his Minister of Public Works, Wang Youdun (1672-1758) in the album *Forty Favorite Scenes*.

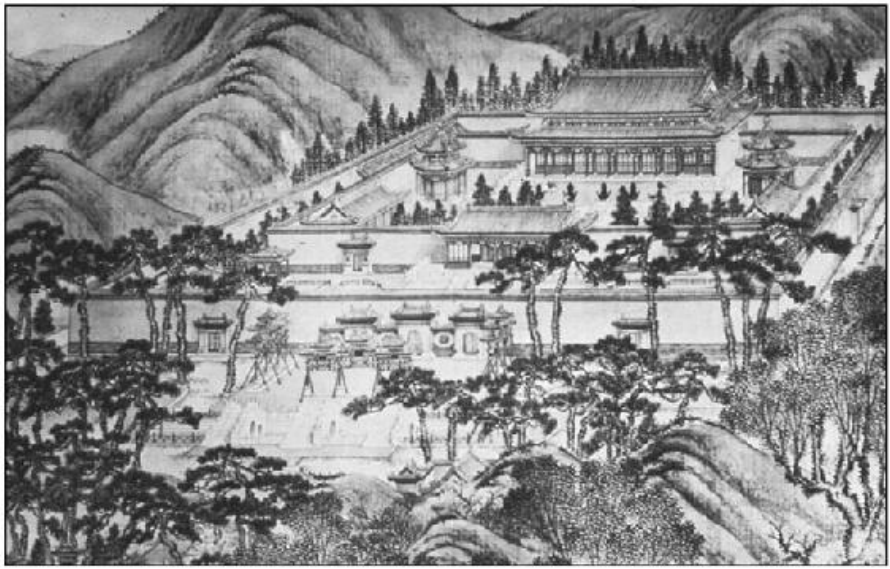


Figure 1.5 Shen Yuan and Tang Dai, imperial engraving of Ancestral Shrine in Palace of Perfect Protection (*Anyou Gong*) complex, eighteenth century. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

The temples in which the imperial ancestors' robes and crowns are Treasured have an ancient origin. Heaven has been blessing our dynasty until today. How fortunate! From generation to generation, all its descendants are in good order. Respectfully, we face our ancestors now in paradise. We feel sad when autumn frost comes after spring dew. Seeing the clouds and the sun, we think of our parents. We remember always how our mother fed us with food from her mouth. Dare we be lazy in offering seasonal fruits to our ancestors?

The Shrine is full of vast reception halls. Porcelain dragons look at each other on the roofs. The sleeping rooms are deep enough to contain all the phoenix tables necessary to serve feasts. We imagine seeing our father working in the fields of the Imperial Park, and our mother in the kitchen during the agricultural feasts. Therefore, we must come to worship them [the ancestors] on the first and fifteenth day of each month, and all princes must compare among themselves who comes first [to the Shrine]. There are double services of the gold sacrificial instruments and vessels, and the flutes and lanterns are of white nephrite. Our ancestors will protect us for ten thousand years and will make us good and courageous. We, their descendants, must be careful and make every effort to avoid sins.[17]

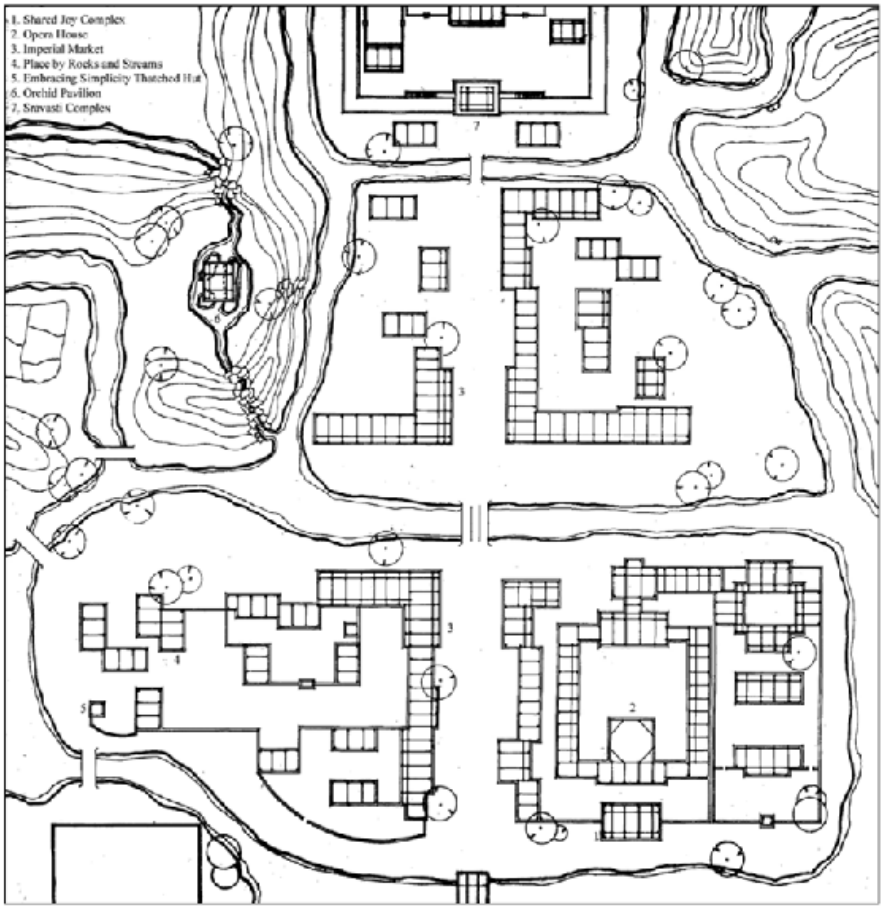


Figure 1.6 Place by Rocks and Streams (*Zuoshi Linliu*) with Shared Joy Garden (*Tongle Yuan*). (Siu family collection).

From this imperial poem, we see how the Qianlong emperor expressed respect and filial piety for his imperial ancestors through the prominent architecture of this shrine and its rich furnishings.

That the Qianlong emperor's next stop was one of his favorite places can be deduced from his frequent visits to the Garden of Shared Joy in 1756, either with his mother or by himself. Although it was not listed separately as one of the *Forty Favorite Scenes*, it was depicted as part of Scene Thirty-eight, Rocks and Streams Place (*Zuoshi Linliu*). (Fig. 1.6) Since the Yongzheng emperor intended the latter to be a multipurpose complex, he positioned the venue in between the Back Lake (*Ho Hu*), and the Sea of Fortune (*Fu Hai*), and gave it an elaborate dock. His son, Qianlong, undoubtedly frequented the venue to entertain the royal court, notably at the three-story theater in the southeast, which was counterbalanced by the Embracing Simplicity Thatched Hut (*Baopu An*) in the southwest. An imperial market occupied the central space. Whenever the Qianlong emperor and the

imperial family shopped on this street, eunuchs played the roles of merchants, laborers, peddlers, and even pickpockets so as to convey the experiences of a marketplace or temple fair.[18] Finally, in the northeast stood the major Buddhist temple complex named Sravasti, while in the northwest was an Orchid Pavilion (*Lan Ting*), associated with Wang Xizhi, China's greatest calligrapher, along with a winding cups stream for poetic contests (*qushui liushang*). This stream no longer survives.[19] The practice of floating cups in a stream as a means of divination, is associated with old religious rituals. For example, the Duke of Zhou, an expert at divination, is supposed to have floated the cups to choose the site of Loyang.[20]

The emperor's passion for composing poetry in the Garden of Shared Joy did not preclude his holding more populist Chinese opera contests there.[21] It is well known that the Qianlong emperor fostered competitions of the several types of regional opera, which helped them develop. In all, it was an often used classic garden scene, complete with this winding stream, a thatched hut, a major Buddhist temple to the north, a tall artificial mountain in the northwest[22] amid a cooling stream, and even a market street crowded with shops, restaurants, teahouses, and jetties.[23] (Color Plate 1.3) After offering Buddhist rituals at unspecified temples in the Garden of Everlasting Spring annex, the imperial procession (indicated by named staff members, perhaps eunuchs, experienced in their ritual roles as bearers of festive lanterns or incense burners) finally arrived at the major venue, the audience hall named Diligence in State Affairs Hall (*Qinzheng Dian*). It was in such an audience hall that emperors ordinarily received their subjects. Following the traditional Chinese design of imperial capitals, it lay directly north of the main palace gate and on the north-south axis. That the Qianlong emperor ordered the court artists, Shen Yuan and Tang Dai, to depict it as Scene One of the *Forty Favorite Scenes*, indicates that he regarded this particular locale within the Garden of Perfect Brightness as being of paramount importance to his whole sense of self and purpose within the greater Confucian context. (Fig. 1.7) The ceremonial meaning of this part of the garden was to display the emperor's legitimized position as ruler and guardian of tradition. Finally, the audience hall's name indicated that the Qianlong emperor perceived himself and all his government officials as being expected to exercise the Confucian virtues inscribed on this hall when serving the people.[24] Because we have noted that his father, the Yongzheng emperor, quickly decided to make the Garden of Perfect Brightness his main residence, the seven-bay structure with government buildings to the east was already completed by 1725 (third year of the Yongzheng reign).

Numerous western accounts describe the gardens as they existed in

the Qing dynasty, including several descriptions of the main audience hall in the Garden of Perfect Brightness, by members of the first British embassy to China, which was headed by Lord Macartney. He, as well as his assistant, Sir George Staunton, and John Barrow, comptroller for the mission and mathematics tutor of young Thomas Staunton, described it as being of imposing size. From a French account, however, we learn the British omitted to note two shrines, which could be entered from behind the throne.[25] Among the depictions of the main audience hall in the Garden of Perfect Brightness was one by Sir William Alexander, an artist and member of the legation, who visited the park. On subsequent visits, Alexander also displayed there the gifts the British had brought for the emperor.

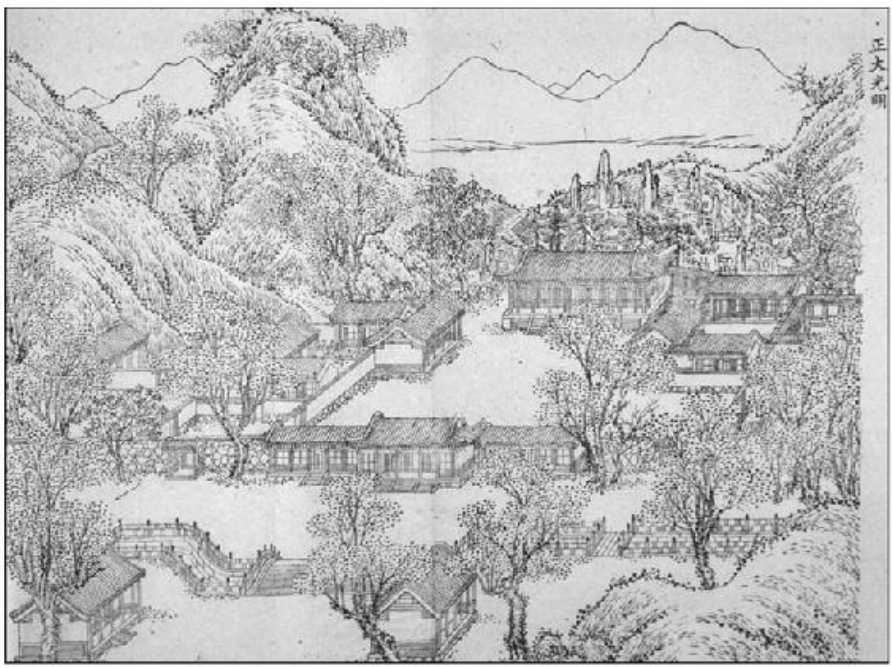


Figure 1.7 Shen Yuan and Tang Dai, imperial engraving of Main Audience Hall (*Zheng Da Guang Ming*), eighteenth century. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

After stopping at the Diligence in State Affairs Hall, the incense burner carriers led the imperial cortege to the dock immediately to the east of the audience hall. The Qianlong emperor boarded a sleigh to the multipurpose complex, the Garden of Shared Joy, from whence he was pulled in the same kind of conveyance to the imperial apartment and banquet region, Nine Continents. There he entertained his guests. The banquet hall was located in the larger square of the garden directly on the north-south axis of the main gate. Its placement, between the Front and Back Lakes, both guaranteed the natural air conditioning of cooling breezes in the summer and ensured the best

scenic view for the imperial residents. (Fig. 1.8) Within easy walking or sailing distance from the main imperial apartment were the eight geomantically-placed islands to its north, northeast, and northwest, each with their different purposes. The total number of islands was nine, an auspicious symbol as the square of three is a very potent male number that plays a major part in the *Book of Changes* (*Yi Jing*). Nine also figures in rituals and in the design of venues for ritual, such as the Temple of Heaven (*Tian Tan*). (Color Plate 1.4) Mongol princes enjoyed entertainment that reflected their dual cultures at Tall Mountain, Long River, an open place devoid of many buildings, to the far west of the Back Lake. While wrestling was a favorite pastime of the Mongols and Manchus, as evidenced from a court painting of the emperor and guests watching a contest, Chinese fireworks displays antedated and surpassed pastimes from any other culture, as attested by Lord Macartney after he had watched the celebrations at the Imperial Mountain Resort for Escaping the Heat (*Bishu Shanzhuang*) in Chengde that honored the Qianlong emperor's eighty-sixth birthday on September 18, 1793. At this imperial summer palace beyond the Great Wall, an afternoon circus began at four o'clock, and included wrestling, dancing, and tumbling by acrobats.[26]

After the elaborate fireworks display and entertainment for the Mongol princes, they were undoubtedly among his guests at a banquet after the emperor stopped at his huge Nine Continents apartment complex. There Qianlong performed the ritual of offering some seasonal sweet dumplings, before savoring them. Toward evening the imperial procession offered Buddhist rituals at the Sravasti Complex, north of the multipurpose Garden of Shared Joy.

We end the 1756 account of Qianlong's first full day in the Garden of Perfect Brightness on the Lantern Festival at the Sravasti Complex, where he performed evening rituals. Designed by his father, the Yongzheng emperor,[27] the temple's name refers to the town of Sravasti in India, which was famous in Buddhist history. In the Qianlong era, at about 465 feet north to south and 300 feet east to west (139,500 sq.ft.), it was the main, largest, and most frequented Buddhist temple in the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Signs of its importance are its Chinese-style north-south axis, double walls, encircling protective stream, and position amid several important complexes. The whole design corresponds with that of the Ming dynasty's Forbidden City, even to the earthen walls embellished with stone and tiles, and to the division into northern and southern parts. Unlike the Forbidden City, however, the Sravasti was completely reserved for worship of the gods, some not Buddhist.[28]

According to earlier Garden of Perfect Brightness studies, this temple contained thousands of Buddhist and other religious images. It

also contained a statue of the God of War (*Guandi*), formerly a general of the Three Kingdoms Period, who helped guard the northern and southern portal temples and was venerated within. The prolifera-tion of Buddhist images from the time of the Kangxi emperor on originated from the custom of fashioning a new statue to commemorate a deity's birthday as well as the anniversary of the emperors and empresses dowager. A solemn ritual of enthronement in the Sravasti Complex likewise evolved.[29]

After finishing at the Complex, all watched a lantern show. Only after this final display did the Qianlong emperor proceed to his imperial apartments in the Nine Continents to retire. It was certainly a full day, filled with pageantry and diplomacy masked as entertainment, for the hardworking monarch.

A WEEK OF ORDINARY WINTER DAYS IN 1756 (TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-EIGHTH DAYS OF THE FIRST CHINESE MONTH)

To familiarize ourselves with the Qianlong emperor's ordinary winter schedule in 1756 is to see what buildings and sectors he frequented for his multifaceted activities. One constant is that he invariably began the day administering his realm[30] before breakfasting with his mother. The Clothing Records note that the emperor largely utilized the already described places plus two new locations in the Garden of Perfect Brightness.

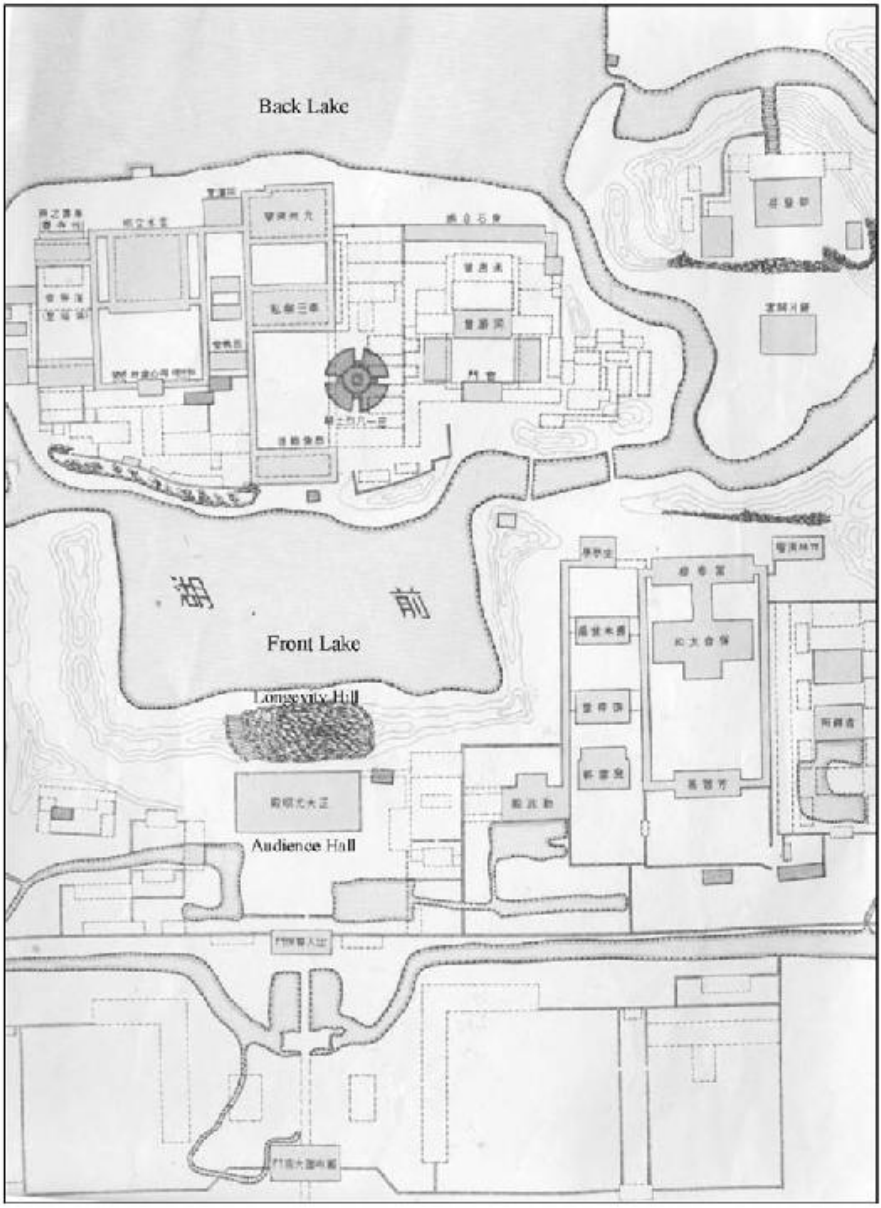


Figure 1.8 Front and Back Lakes. (Siu family collection).

On the twenty-first day of the first Chinese month, the emperor administered affairs (*banshi*) in the Diligence in State Affairs Hall. After work, he traveled by four-man, warmed palanquin to the multipurpose Garden of Shared Joy for in-motion viewing. There he waited for his mother to join him for breakfast. Later after taking his evening meal, he rode a sleigh for in-motion viewing, returning to the Nine Continents to end the day.

The following day, the twenty-second, he likewise administered

affairs and performed in-motion viewing at the Diligence in State Affairs Hall and Garden of Shared Joy respectively and, again, had breakfast with his mother. Later he dined. He also rested a while in the Double Crane Studio (*Shuanghe Zhai*) finally returning to the imperial apartments in the Nine Continents.

On the twenty-third day, after administering affairs in the Diligence in State Affairs Hall, it was still so cold that he rode a sleigh to the Garden of Shared Joy for in-motion viewing, followed by waiting for his mother to join him for breakfast. After his evening meal, he boarded another sleigh for in-motion viewing, returning finally to Nine Continents.

On the twenty-fourth day, the Qianlong emperor followed the same pattern of taking care of affairs and in-motion viewing, followed by waiting for his mother to eat breakfast with him, all in the same venues. Afterwards, however, he was pulled by sleigh to the Ten Thousand Directions Peace or Region of International Peace (*Wanfang Anhe*) landing. There he boarded a palanquin in which he exited the Garden of Perfect Brightness at the southwest gate, the Garden of Elegance Gate (*Zaoyuan Men*). He conducted in-motion inspections of the imperial garden on Longevity Hill (*Shoushan*). He returned via the Old Road (*Jiulu*) to the Garden of Shared Joy for his evening meal. Afterward he went to the Garden of Everlasting Spring for further in-motion viewing, ending the day at Nine Continents.

Following such a heavy day, on the twenty-fifth the emperor simply went by sleigh to the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to administer affairs and then to the Garden of Shared Joy to breakfast with his mother. After his evening meal, runners pulled his sleigh for in-motion viewing to an unnamed venue. Then he retired to the Nine Continents.

> On the twenty-sixth, even before administering affairs, the Qianlong emperor went to the audience hall, Diligence in State Affairs Hall, to view the Pinched (or Twisted) Sea Turtle Mountain (*Ning'ao Shan*). Then he boarded a sleigh to the Garden of Shared Joy to breakfast with his mother. He next departed by sleigh to the Ten Thousand Directions Peace dock, where a palanquin took him to the Garden of Elegance (*Zao Yuan*) to rest awhile. Then he rode horseback to the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence (*Jingming Yuan*), where he conducted in-motion viewing from a four-man, illuminated palanquin. On his return via the Old Road to the Garden of Perfect Brightness, he took an eight-man, warmed palanquin to Jade Spring Hill (*Yuquan Shan*), entering through the Garden of Elegance Gate. [There he changed to] a four-man, warmed palanquin and was carried to a landing where he descended to board a sleigh to travel to the Garden of Shared Joy for the evening meal. A sleigh also took him to Double Crane Studio to rest awhile. Finally, he returned to Nine Continents.[31]

The moderate activities on the twenty-seventh day included the usual administrative duties at the Diligence in State Affairs Hall

followed by a sleigh ride to the Garden of Shared Joy where he awaited his mother for breakfast. Afterward he conducted some in-motion viewing of an unnamed venue by sleigh, he returned to Nine Continents. In contrast, on the twenty-eighth day, the Clothing Records note the emperor first departed by warmed palanquin to the Garden of Everlasting Spring to greet his mother and to personally escort her to the Front Garden. By warmed palanquin again, he went to the audience hall to view the Pinched (or Twisted) Sea Turtle Mountain before breakfasting, and then administered affairs at the Diligence in State Affairs Hall. Bearers bore the emperor through the southwest Garden of Elegance Gate to conduct in-motion viewing of the Longevity Hill garden. He returned via the Old Road to Nine Continents for the evening meal, after which he boarded a sleigh to various places for further in-motion viewing before retiring to Nine Continents.[32]

The Qianlong emperor's mother was showered with attention every morning, even before breakfast, during this busy winter work week after the Chinese New Year celebrations. The climactic ending to her filial son's action was his actually accompanying her to her residence in the beautiful Front Garden, which is an older name for the Kangxi emperor's Garden of Joyful Spring.[33] (Fig. 1.9) In 1701 Qianlong's grandfather had repaired this small garden, of about 150 acres, complete with its own temple, studies, and audience hall. The Qianlong emperor added two lakes and garden scenes inspired by Jiangnan gardens he had admired during his Southern Tours (*Nanxun*), especially in the West Garden (*Xihua Yuan*). Simultaneously, he began work on the larger Garden of Perfect Brightness to its northwest.[34]

During the remainder of 1756, the Clothing Records indicate that the Qianlong emperor traveled by palanquin from the Garden of Perfect Brightness to this smaller garden to greet his mother before breakfast at least five times a month, though he rarely had time to dine with her except on festival days.

The delight of the aged mothers of both the Kangxi and the Qianlong emperors in accompanying their sons on Southern Tours, in 1699 for the former; and in 1751, 1757, 1762, and 1765 for the latter, received wide publicity.[35] Thanks to the empresses dowager and the filial devotion inspired in their sons, these early Qing emperors took a particular interest in Jiangnan institutions that were important to women. Notably, they involved themselves in restoring and expanding temples and shrines, particularly to Guanyin and her attendants, that were central to women's spiritual lives. The Guanyin legend, for example, promised a young girl fearfully facing marriage, eventual spiritual transfiguration and immortality, after she endured suffering

and even death. In Jiangnan, peasant women benefited both spiritually and practically from the veneration of Guanyin; spirit money made for the pilgrims of both genders augmented their meager incomes. Furthermore, these imperial tours inspired a lively activity in the field of restoration of famous gardens, imperial palaces, and historical monasteries and sites.[36] From the sources, then, one gains additional insight into the beneficial aspects of these imperial women's influence over their ruling sons and on the religion and socioeconomics of the high Qing.

The elaborate imperial funeral procession ordered by the Qianlong emperor for his mother in 1777 is but another sign of the filial devotion he exhibited throughout her long life. The Jesuit J. J. M. Amiot's account captures the scene:

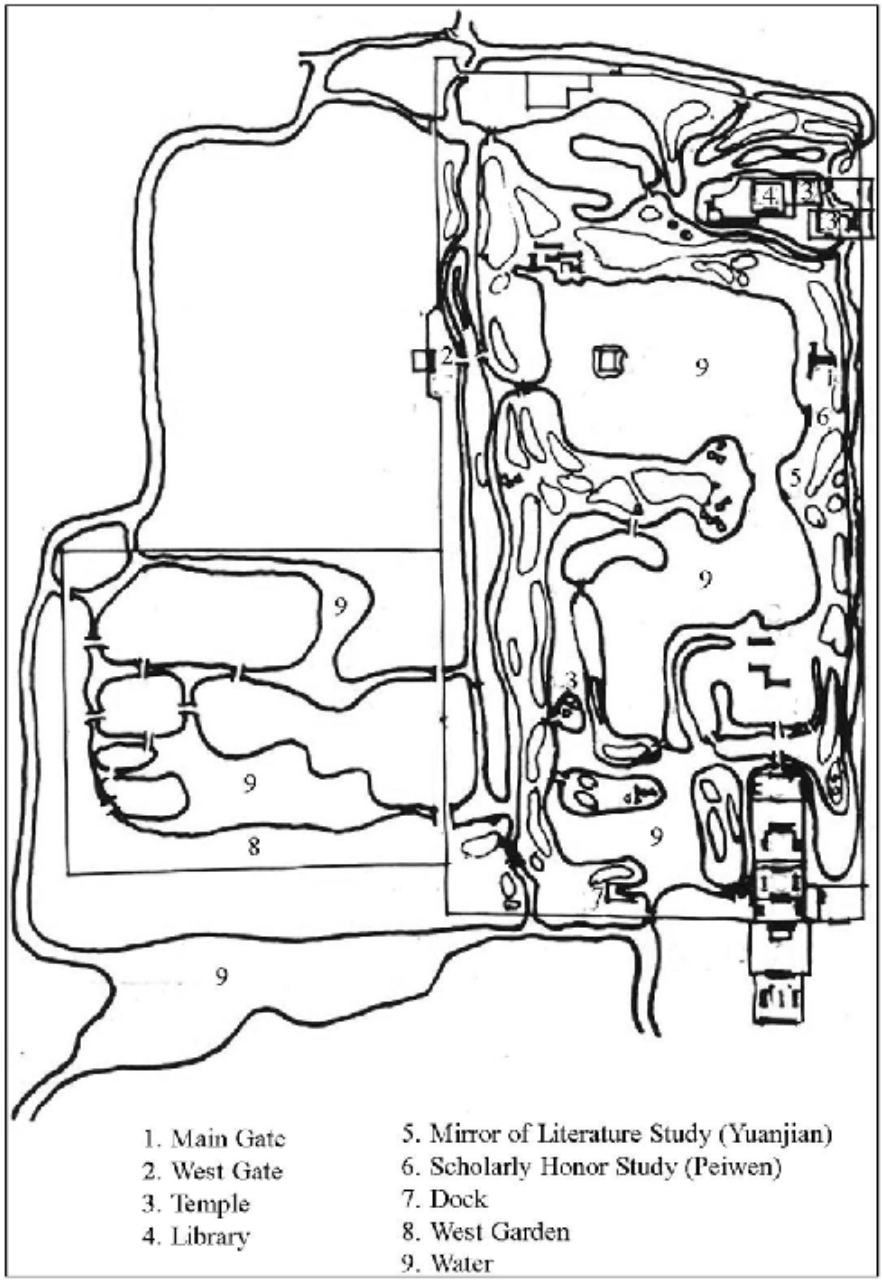


Figure 1.9 Map of Kangxi emperor's Garden of Joyful Spring (*Changchun Yuan*) and Western Garden Annex or the Summer Palace (*Xihua Yuan*). (Siu family collection).

[First came] camels and horses, two by two, loaded with provisions as if for a long trip: beds, utensils, provisions, etc. After them came the carts, the rolling chairs, the sedan chairs, armchairs, chairs, stools, cushions, trunks, basins, and all the articles of the toi-lette. All this marches in file for twenty-eight rows. Articles of use, jewels, all that the princess used while she lived, like mirrors, fans, etc. . . . were carried separately by the servants, forming several ranks,

after which was carried, with much respect, the little [walking] stick which she used during her old age.[37]

Quantities of actual objects, theoretically all used by the person (rather than paper replicas), were burned as offerings to the deceased Empress Dowager Xiaosheng for use in the next life. The ritual also included animal sacrifices, wine, and ceremonial paper money.[38]

As we have seen, the Qianlong emperor preferred to administer affairs while at the Garden of Perfect Brightness in the Diligence in State Affairs Hall rather than in the audience hall to its immediate west. The unpretentious buildings of the Diligence in State Affairs Hall, rather small for imperial purposes, served to demonstrate to all who entered, whether emperor, officials, or commoners, that this was a place for ordinary daily business, but which was performed exceptionally. Even the name of the complex emphasizes the high standards expected of all administrators who brought their reports to the throne.[39] We shall see from other 1756 citations that the emperor also breakfasted there, invariably after performing earlier functions, such as offering rituals or visiting his mother.

On the twenty-sixth day of the first Chinese month and four other times in 1756, the Clothing Records specify the Qianlong emperor visited the main audience hall of the Diligence in State Affairs Hall for an unusual reason, namely to view the Pinched (or Twisted) Sea Turtle Mountain. Since both stones and twisted forms, such as dwarf trees in bonsai, are associated with longevity, Daoist naturalistic themes come to mind. Moreover, one recalls that tortoises or cranes extending their necks would be increasing their breaths by lengthening their air passages and, ultimately, attaining longevity. Rolf Stein goes even further with the analogy between these animals and trees and Daoist adepts (deformed, dwarfed, twisted) and whoever decides to withdraw into a separate world; all must stretch and bend their limbs, thereby attaining longevity.[40] Could these Daoist themes assist our understanding of the emperor's presence at the main audience hall?

A favorite resting place of the Qianlong emperor was the Double Crane Studio located in the scenic northwestern corner of Sea of Fortune, called the Grand Duke Who Stands Aloof (*Kuoran Dagong*). It was one of four adjacent though unique scenic small gardens in the region; its layout was Jiangnan-inspired, meaning borrowed from the important southern gardens, such as Shanghai's Yu Yuan and Hangzhou's Yi Yuan. The Kangxi emperor had earlier selected this venue amid the hills and water and built a scenic spot in 1720 (fifty-ninth year of the Kangxi reign); and six years later his successor, the Yongzheng emperor, expanded the venue, renaming it Double Crane Studio. Finally, in 1739 under the Qianlong emperor, it became

known as the Grand Duke Who Stands Aloof. He composed an imperial poem about it, probably following a major renovation inspired by the design of the Jichang garden in Wuxi.[41]

On three sides the buildings, water surrounded the central pool, while dominating the north beach was an artificial hill that the Double Crane Studio in the south faced. This building, one of only thirteen that survived the 1860 conflagration of the Garden of Perfect Brightness,[42] was destroyed during the chaos of the Boxer Uprising in 1900. Only porous rocks mark the venue today.

The Qianlong emperor often traversed the Old Road to reach one or more of the five gardens of the Old Summer Palace from the Forbidden City. This land route was so well planned that, under a different name, it is still utilized as the principal route in the region west of Beijing.

DAOIST RITUALS AND SITES AT THE GARDEN OF PERFECT BRIGHTNESS (NINTH AND TENTH DAYSOF THE FOURTH CHINESE MONTH)

Immediately following the ordinary winter week, the Qianlong emperor had to be absent from his beloved Garden of Perfect Brightness for several periods, including all but one day in the third Chinese month. Shortly after his return on the twenty-ninth day of that month, the Clothing Records show that the weather around Beijing had finally warmed enough so that the emperor could begin traveling in an imperial barge throughout the Garden of Perfect Brightness and to the other imperial gardens.

Any Chinese garden is an extension of the world in which the creator lives. Qianlong's world was based on a set of religious concepts. Daoism is one of China's major creeds. Nevertheless, searching the 1756 sources reveals only two instances when the emperor presided over Daoist rituals, or designated his appointee at an unspecified Quiet, Clean Place (*Qingjing Di*) to act for him.[43] His leadership position necessitated showing the emperor as the point at which all authority was articulated. But searching for Daoist-inspired architectural sites ordered by the emperor yields proof he understood the richness of its garden traditions. Indeed, the Garden of Perfect Brightness features a rich medley of classical places.

On the ninth and tenth days of the fourth Chinese month, the emperor went to several, now familiar, places and two new sectors,

and performed Daoist rituals in the Garden of Perfect Brightness and its Garden of Everlasting Spring annex:

> Ninth day of the fourth Chinese month. Quiet, Clean Place, Daoist Site. After evening meal to Quiet, Clean Place to offer incense. By four-man, illuminated palanquin to Embrace the Pure Fragrance of Flowers (*Huaiqingfen*) to breakfast and administer affairs. To the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to hold audiences. Then by palanquin to feed goldfish at pond; to the Spring Rain Study (*Chunyu Xuan*) to change clothes; by boat to Diligence in State Affairs Hall to administer affairs. By four-man, illuminated palanquin to Double Crane Studio to rest awhile; by boat to Ten Thousand Directions Peace to consume evening meal. Then by palanquin to Quiet, Clean Place to offer incense; returned to Nine Continents to retire.[44]

> Tenth day of the fourth Chinese month. Quiet, Clean Place. Daoist rituals fully completed, so did not go, sending prince to offer incense. By four-man, illuminated palanquin to feed goldfish at pond, then by palanquin to Embrace the Pure Fragrance of Flowers for breakfast, administering affairs; then to the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to hold audiences. Returned to Nine Continents; after consuming evening meal took a boat for in-motion viewing to East Garden (*Dong Yuan*), returning then to Nine Continents.[45]

One of the two places not already identified was Embrace the Pure Fragrance of Flowers. A relatively small five-room building located deep within the Diligence in State Affairs Hall, the place often served as an imperial breakfast facility. Its private nature is suggested by the first term of its name, which means embrace, as a mother holds or embraces her child. The rest of its name, meaning pure fragrance of flowers, probably alludes to the fact that the secluded facility was connected by open balustrades to at least two interior gardens (one a bamboo grove) and overlooked a shady spot complete with a stream around artificial hills.[46]

The only other unfamiliar site is East Garden. As can be deduced from an entry for the seventeenth day of the fifth Chinese month, this East Garden probably refers to the southeast sector of Sea of Fortune, also called the East Sea (*Dong Hai*). The sector's name was Watch Fish Leap (*Guanyuyue*). On that July day, the Qianlong emperor went to watch fish-netting at East Garden.[47] (Fig. 1.10)

The exact nature of the emperor's Daoist rituals on the ninth day of the fourth Chinese month is unclear from the records, but he probably attended them in a position of privilege because he was the patron of the ceremony and source of all authority. Daoist priests actually performed the lengthy ceremonies, which involve not only words of petition to the deities, but also music and dance.[48] Given the complex nature of Daoist rituals, it hardly seems possible that the emperor, an untrained layman, could do more than preside.

Close reading of the 1756 Clothing Records reveals many venues and activities related to fish (*yu*). In fact, one of the emperor's daily

rituals was feeding his goldfish in one of his ponds, usually before breakfast, except, of course, when the ponds were frozen. At first this act seems to be a form of relaxation. In fact, it was a Daoist-inspired act signifying nurturing his people and symbolized his role in ensuring they were fed. Within easy walking distance from the Nine Continents imperial apartment lay one of his many goldfish ponds in the complex named Vast and Tranquil Ponds (*Tantan Dangdang*). This complex was conveniently located diagonally across from the imperial residence. All of the many areas with fish ponds in the Garden of Perfect Brightness were inspired by beautiful garden scenes of the Jiangnan region, as evidenced by the sketches of the Hangzhou West Lake (*Xi Hu*) scene, entitled *Jade Spring, Fishes Leaping* (*Yuquan Yuyue*) which the Qianlong emperor ordered done on one of his Six Southern Tours as well as a sketch of the corresponding Garden of Perfect Brightness scene to the northwest of the Sea of Fortune. Named Fish Jump, Kites (i.e. the birds) Fly (*Yuyue Yuanfei*) the site signified the natural freedom of things in the universe.[49] Though the two places are not identical, the general setting of the buildings nestled in the valley next to water indicates that the spirit of the Hangzhou garden inspired the Garden of Perfect Brightness complex.

The Qianlong emperor had a passion for beautiful fish. The Imperial Household Department's (*Neiwu Fu*) Clothing Records show that, on the twenty-first day of the fifth month of the second year after his father died, when the mourning period had not yet ended, the emperor ordered 22,260 fish, of which 12,150 were for the Garden of Perfect Brightness ponds.[50] The very oldest Chinese literature expresses the belief that an abundance (*yu*) of fish in the water foretell a good harvest.[51] The Qianlong emperor also said, "If the fish are happy, so is the country" (*Yulo Guodi*).[52] The fish is an important Chinese symbol as it is phonetically identical to the term meaning abundance of wealth and good fortune. But the observer familiar with Chinese symbols further understands that to raise fish, symbolically, means to care for them and for one's extended family. So, too, the emperor's primary duty is to care for his people, making the whole country prosperous and harmonious with nature. Conversely, a neglected fishpond in a family garden, for example, the one in the famous Qing novel, *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hong Lou Meng*), indicated the whole family was going downhill, not only financially but also morally. During the Qianlong emperor's times, the fish in the ponds of the northern sector of the Vast and Tranquil Ponds were actually red, according to Zhao Guanghua.[53] Apparently the emperor's wardrobe official did not strive for accuracy in zoological terms as he did regarding garments; he simply used the generic term goldfish.

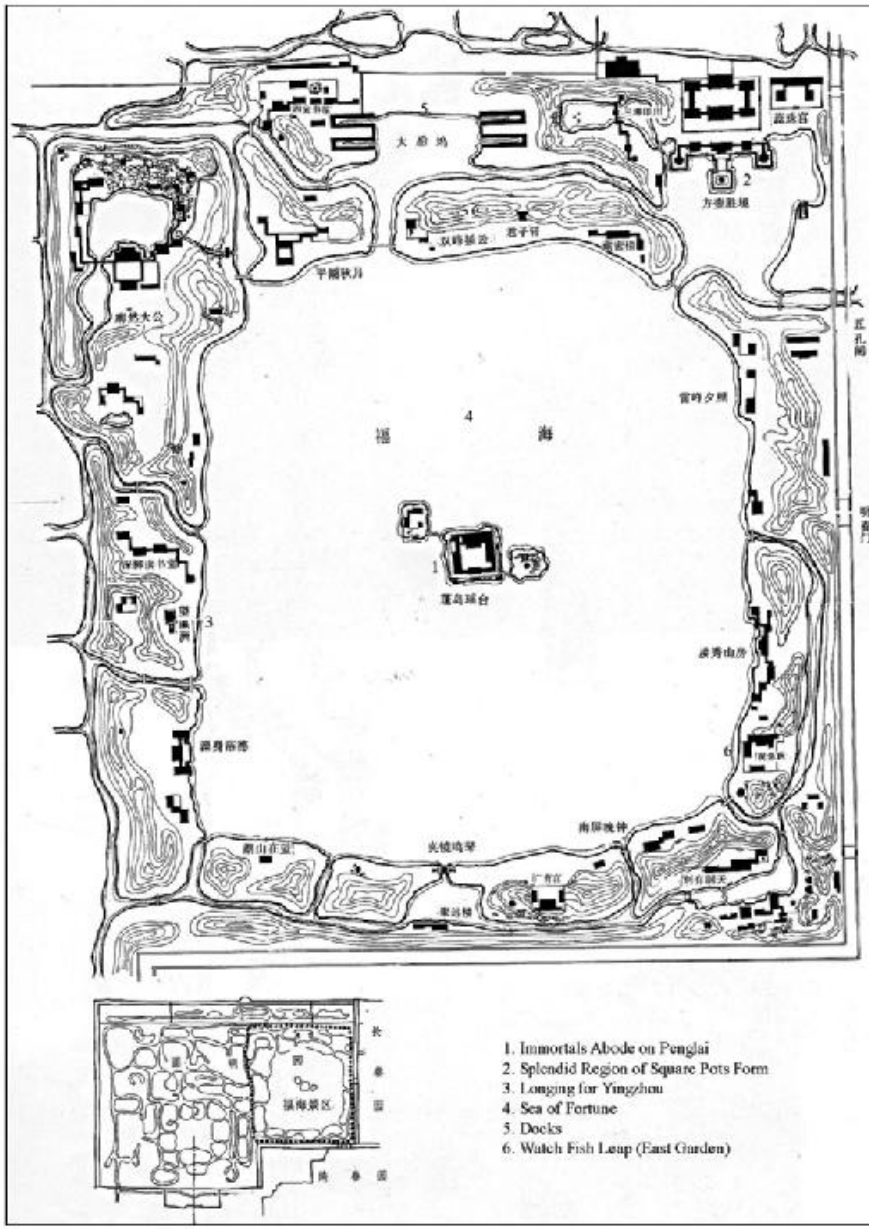


Figure 1.10 Map of Sea of Fortune (*Fu Hai*) region. (Siu family collection).

Further evidence of the Qianlong emperor's familiarity with Daoist ideals of the Garden of Paradise includes many accounts in the Clothing Record of his imperial visits to the Immortals' Abode on Penglai Isle (*Pengdao Yaotai*). (Color Plate 1.5) The emperor selected the site as Scene Thirty-two of his *Forty Favorite Scenes*, and he had erected its counterpart, Square Pots Imperial Residence (*Fanghu Shengjing*) (Fig. 1.11), in the northeast facing Penglai Isle in the Sea of

Fortune, which is Scene Twenty-nine. They are architectural expressions of the Daoist ideal of the garden as timeless paradise, which the great poet, Dao Qian (372-427), immortalized in his brief fable, *Peach Blossom Spring*.[54]

The Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors, like Chinese scholars in every generation, strove to embody and nurture the Daoist values of this ideal Peach Blossom Spring society in the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Yongzheng considered them important enough to order the imperial venue in question erected around 1725 (third year of the Yongzheng reign). It was modeled after a painting entitled *One Pool and Three Hills* (*Yichi Sanshan*) by the renowned Tang artist, Li Sixun (651-716).[55]

Two laconic entries in the Clothing Records contain a wealth of Daoist concepts:

> Twenty-ninth day of the fourth Chinese month. By four-man, illuminated palanquin to Embrace the Pure Fragrance of Flowers to breakfast, administer affairs. To the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to receive audiences, changing clothes; then by palanquin to feed goldfish at pond; to Nine Continents, rested awhile; by boat to the Square Pots Imperial Residence to eat evening meal. By boat to the Garden of Everlasting Spring for in-motion viewing. Returned to Nine Continents, changing to simpler clothes.[56]

> Thirtieth day of the fourth Chinese month. By four-man, illuminated palanquin to feed goldfish at pond, then by palanquin to Embrace the Pure Fragrance of Flowers to breakfast, administer affairs; to the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to receive audiences. Then by four-man palanquin out southwest gate to Garden of Tranquil Luminescence for in-motion viewing, changed clothes, took boat to Longevity Hill West Gate dock. By four-man, illuminated palanquin entered Garden of Elegance Gate, [to] Tall Mountain, Long River to rest awhile; to Nine Continents, changed clothes, resting awhile. At Back Dock took boat to Immortals' Abode on Penglai Isle, ate evening meal and then by boat to the Garden of Everlasting Spring for in-motion viewing, returning to Nine Continents. Took bath, changed clothes.[57]

Figure 1.11 Theron glossy engraving of Square Pots Imperial Residences (*Fanghu Shengjing*). (Siu family collection).

According to the French artist, Theron, the Square Pots Imperial Residence erected by the Qianlong emperor in 1740 (fifth year of the Qianlong reign), was one of the most elaborate groups of buildings in the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Theron might not have actually seen the imperial summer palace, as he based his engraving on the view of it in the album, *Forty Favorite Scenes* by Shen Yuan and Tang Dai. However, Achille Poussielgue, who did see the palace, left a detailed account of the Splendid Region:

> The Grand Imperial Palace—the most beautiful palace. . . . [This palace] is composed of two groups of buildings . . . joined to one another by a bridge. The first group . . . includes three pavilions preceded by three kiosks descending the steps of which one can embark and wander around the lakes. The kiosk in the center is entirely gold in color. Its pinnacle is of solid gold. One can admire there two [statues of] deer and two of cranes of painted wood and larger than life. The kiosks on the left and the right have red columns and blue gilded roofs. Three pavilions with red and gold columns and green gilded roofs are behind these three pavilions. All these dwellings are erected on a large marble terrace surrounded by balustrades and have stairs reaching the water. . . . The walls of the second group of buildings, which is reached by a marble bridge, are encrusted with enamel bricks of gold and green color. This

> group includes six buildings with red and gold balustrades. . . . This is the favorite residence of the emperor, and in its interior unheard of treasures are stored.[58]

Although this Western eyewitness gives us some appreciation of the Square Pots' architectural and sculptural features, in particular the inverted tri-pronged character *shan* (山) or mountain-shaped front part that extended well into the lake and featured a pair of deer and cranes on the central platform, he recorded little information on the central and back parts. Nine magnificent buildings graced that area; the number carries many allusions.[59] A recent publication alleges that more than two thousand Buddhist statues filled about thirty shrines.[60] That allegation runs counter to Qianlong's choice of the venue's positioning within the garden and its quintessentially Daoist name. On the placement of the Square Pots region in relation to one of the Isles of the Immortals to its south, we note the commentary penned by the emperor's Minister of Public Works, Wang Youdun: "On the sea [the large basin, so-called] is the mountain of three genies. . . . It is a dwelling suitable only for Immortals. If they had inhabited these homes for an instant, they would have had little desire to search for other places in far away places."[61]

Some modern specialists of Paradise Islands and of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, such as Carroll Brown Malone, failed to note that the Qianlong emperor deliberately designed the vast Sea of Fortune region as a Daoist ocean with all three of the Isles of the Blessed in it. They are known as Fanghu (the name selected for this Square Pots northeast sector), Penglai, and Yingzhou. The fact that the emperor designed this most elaborate Square Pots Isle of the Immortals to extend out into the sea and to face the central Immortals' Abode on Penglai Isle, confirms the paradisaical representation of this section of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. More recently, Wan Yi, in his study of Qing imperial parks, cited passages from unspecified Han histories and from the Daoist *Liezi*. This work affirms the Qianlong emperor's familiarity with historical and literary sources of the theme in question. His selection of the islands' names indicates his desire to express the paradise themes in his garden.[62] In the next section we will locate his third Isle of the Immortals and amplify on these Daoist-inspired isles in the Sea of Fortune region. Such studies, as well as more recent work on Daoism,[63] make us understand that Chinese generally accepted the Daoist Paradise as a worthwhile goal in their search for happiness; their quest for the Isles of the Immortals also rises above superstition.

THE DRAGON BOAT FESTIVAL (*DUANWU JIE*) (FIRST, FOURTH, AND FIFTH DAYS OF THE FIFTH CHINESE MONTH)

Entries in the Clothing Records, along with two others at the beginning of the fifth Chinese month, record the Qianlong emperor's multiple activities for the Dragon Boat Festival, held on the first, fourth, and fifth days of the month. His father, the Yongzheng emperor, had been very strict with his sons, insisting that the Palace School for them operate throughout the year. When the princes were in the Garden of Perfect Brightness, they continued their lessons in a small study in the Diligence in State Affairs Hall.[64] No wonder this sector continued to be the locus for the Qianlong emperor's general administrative and private activities. That the Dragon Boat Festival on the fifth day of the fifth Chinese month was one of China's most important can be adduced from the fact that it constituted one of only five official holidays allowed the student princes, the others being New Year, the Mid-Autumn Festival (*Zhongqui Jie*), the emperor's birthday, and the princes' own birthdays. Since the Sea of Fortune constituted the largest body of water in the Garden of Perfect Brightness, the emperor ceremonially held his dragon boat races (*sailong zhou*) there on Double Five. (Color Plate 1.6) His ordering of the age-old rituals reveals the notion that this sector of his garden, a microcosm of his world, encompassed Daoist, popular Chinese, and even Confucian beliefs. Among the rituals Qianlong reenacted with some of his immediate family were the dragon boat races, eating steamed glutinous rice dumplings stuffed with dates, meats, and other delicacies, and steamed in leaves, and wearing charms to ward off the evil vapors associated with this most poisonous day of the year.[65]

The following three sections of the 1756 Clothing Records are accounts of the Dragon Boat Festival. They include the architectural sites selected for the ritual celebrations:

> First day of the fifth Chinese month. This day practice for the Dragon Boats contest. On the eighteenth day of the fourth Chinese month and, according to his wishes, there was an Imperial Proclamation. Thereafter, each year at the first day of the fifth Chinese month, one has to wear the five-poison pouch (*wudu hebao*). [Included in the record of the emperor's clothing and ornaments that day is the fact that he wore three pouches: a small five-poison pouch, a small dragon-boat pouch, and a large pouch with patterns of bats and clouds.] At Back Lake dock took barge to Gentle Clouds Cover All (*Ciyun Puhu*) to offer Buddhist ritual, then by barge to Ten Thousand Directions Peace's dock, by four-man, illuminated palanquin to Quiet, Clean Place's dock, to kowtow; then

> by palanquin to the Buddhist hall at Sravasti to offer Buddhist ritual. Then to the Garden of Shared Joy to breakfast. Took barge to the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to administer affairs, receive audiences. By four-man, illuminated palanquin to the Brilliant Abundance Palace (*Guangyu Gong*) [and to] the Garden of Everlasting Spring to offer Buddhist rituals; then returned to Looking Toward Yingzhou (*Wang Yingzhou*) to watch the Dragon Boats practice. By barge to Garden of Shared Joy, ate evening meal there; then to Beautiful and Clear Village (*Xiuqing Cun*) to change clothes and rest awhile, returning to Nine Continents to retire.[66]

On this first day of practice, marked by numerous religious rituals, the emperor boarded the royal barge at the western dock of the swastika-shaped building named Ten Thousand Directions Peace (Fig. 1.12) located to the north of a long expanse of water to the west of the Nine Continents' Back Lake. This oddly-shaped, thirty-three room structure seemed to float in midstream. Anyone who viewed it from the distant pavilion to its south or approached it by barge or by palanquin along the long bordering causeway, as did the Qianlong emperor in 1756, would double his aesthetic experience because of the addition of its reflection on the water. The emperor often selected this place to rest after strenuous administrative or religious duties, or to host his mother on special occasions.

This building, Scene Thirteen of the *Forty Favorite Scenes*, was literally termed the Ten Thousand Directions Peace because in China the swastika, part of the building's name, was a very old form of the character meaning 10,000. A better translation might be Region of International Peace. Of mystical Buddhist origins the swastika became a number which embodied all good and virtue, but it also meant the four regions of the world, since each of the four regions could fit into one of the symbol's squares.[67] That this Garden of Perfect Brightness region served state purposes is supported by the fact that the Yongzheng emperor frequently received his officials there; his formal name for the venue conveyed the meaning that anyone at the site could temporarily experience universal peace.[68] Therefore, rulers who aspired to govern the four regions, i.e., the whole world, peacefully were required to reflect on that goal regularly and with the proper spirit.

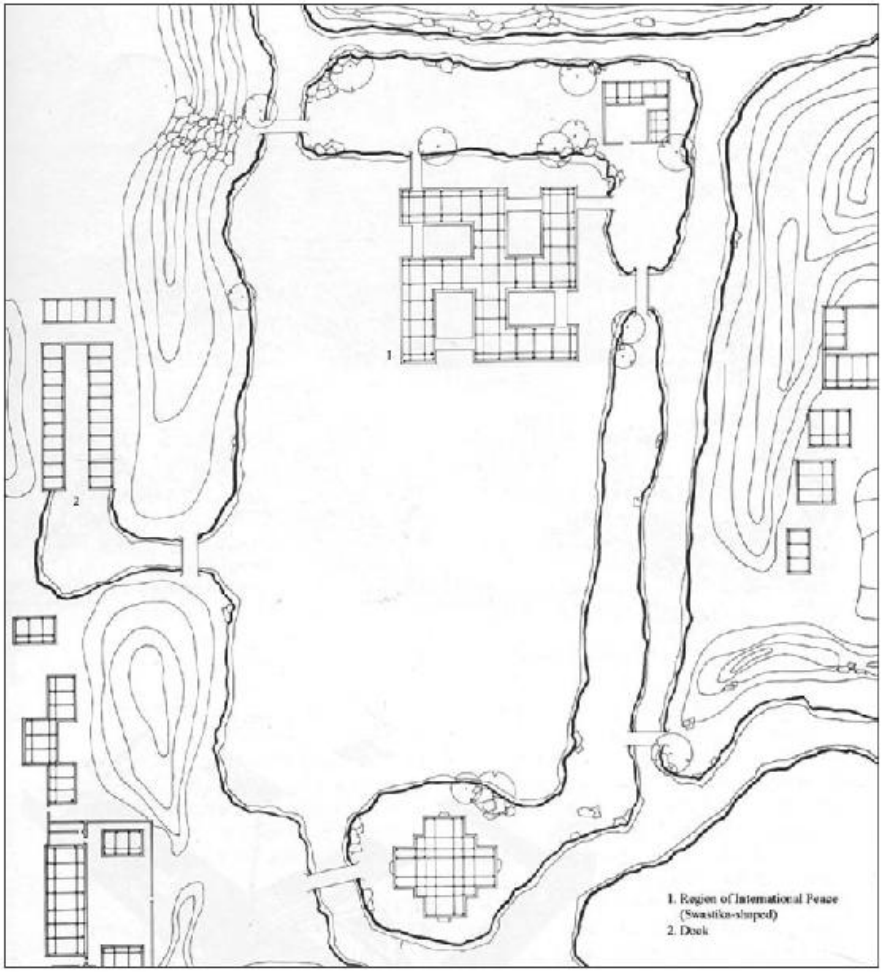


Figure 1.12 **Swastika-shaped Region of International Peace (*Wanfang Anhe*). (Siu family collection).**

In 1756, on the eve of the major festival, the high point of the Qianlong emperor's day was leading the princes, high ranking officials, and others to watch another Dragon Boat practice at the same venue. Much earlier though, he rose and fed his goldfish at an unnamed site before breakfasting at Embrace the Pure Fragrance of Flowers. He also attended to affairs of state, including giving audiences. Only afterward did the emperor and his guests watch the rowers compete. Then he embarked alone on a barge to the all-purpose Garden of Shared Joy to change clothes and eat his evening meal. Finally he departed for Beautiful and Clear Village to rest awhile, returning ultimately to Nine Continents to retire.

> Fifth day of the fifth Chinese month. This day is the Dragon Boat Festival; this is the day for the Dragon Boat contest. It is the day to invite Mother. [Mentioned in his clothing records are a big pouch with dragon boat and

clouds, a small five-poison pouch, and another small dragon boat pouch.] Took four-man, illuminated palanquin to Spout Gate (*Zhakou Men*) and waited at entrance for Mother; together rode barge to Ten Thousand Directions Peace, there served her breakfast. Then traveled by boat to the Longevity Hill dock, where took four-man, illuminated palanquin to the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to administer affairs. Afterward he took a barge to Looking Toward Yingzhou, leading princes and high officials and others to watch the Dragon Boat contest. To the Garden of Shared Joy to change clothes and take off beads, consumed evening meal; then took barge to a pond to feed goldfish, returning to Nine Continents.[69]

The Dragon Boat Festival, on Double Fifth, corresponds to the period of the summer solstice and highlights the midpoint of the year, when nature changes from the dominance of the yang force, characterized by growth and ripening of natural things, to that of the yin force, characterized by decline and decay. Dating back at least two thousand years, the festival is still widely celebrated in locales near rivers or lakes where a large Chinese population exists, even outside of China proper.

For historical reasons, dragon boat races were traditionally held on waterfronts. The Qianlong emperor, like every scholar-official who created a garden, saw himself as a part of a historical continuum of past, present, and future. By looking out over the waters of the Sea of Fortune at the competing dragon boat races, the emperor expressed a major Confucian idea by emphasizing his continuity with the past,[70] for most Chinese claim that the festival stems from the attempt to recall the soul of the famous poet, Qu Yuan, a loyal minister from the state of Ying of the fourth to third century B.C. It is said Qu drowned himself in the Milou River in Hunan after suffering banishment for his protests against government corruption. The emperor and the court ladies were served special glutinous rice dumplings at their meals during the first to the fifth days of the fifth month[71] that linked them to the tormented soul of the upright minister, which is said to have appeared to fishermen, crying out that he was starving because a bad dragon had eaten his rice offerings. Subsequent offerings were put in bamboo tubes closed with lily leaves and tied with multicolored threads, whence comes the custom of wrapped and tied rice dumplings.[72]

What route the competing dragon boats followed on the Garden of Perfect Brightness lake on the Double Fifth of 1756 is not recorded, but the locus was definitely the Sea of Fortune, a much larger body of water with a circumference of four li,[73] than the Back and Front Lakes in the western part of the Garden of Perfect Brightness proper, though it was smaller than Inherited Clarity Lake (*Kunming Hu*) in the Garden of the Clear Ripples (*Qingyi Yuan*), later called New Summer Palace. It stands to reason that the large boats, originally docked at the huge

northern mooring site, near the emperor's Square Pots Isle of the Immortals, followed a circular course around the central Isle of the Immortals, before finishing at Looking Toward Yingzhou. Perfect for the animated emperor and his guests, this site afforded an unobstructed view of the whole sea, from the western shore of the Sea of Fortune, almost directly opposite the centrally-located Penglai Isle.[74]

The major reason that the Qianlong emperor favored this venue stems from a much deeper cause than its advantageous location for viewing the races. Scholars sometimes named garden venues after auspicious things. Looking Toward Yingzhou augmented the Daoist theme of the sizeable lake section the emperor embellished, which included the Immortals' Abode on Penglai Isle and its less easily detected counterpart, Fanghu Isle, represented by the special imperial residence he created in the shape of a square pot vessel floating on the Sea of Fortune. Chinese people would immediately recognize Yingzhou as the third Isle of the Immortals, the Holy Mountain in the East Sea where the Immortals dwelled in a closed world, complete, heavenly, and inaccessible to the non-adept.[75]

That the Qianlong emperor watched the races on Double Fifth in 1756 is to be expected, but that he went to two practices, leading a retinue of princes and officials, needs some explaining. Furthermore, on the actual festival day, he accompanied his mother, giving us to understand that they both greatly appreciated the intense yearly contest between rival teams, as did all his subjects. The day of the Dragon Boat Festival is always filled with excitement as crowds, some in boats, eagerly anticipate the arrival of huge (33 to 130 feet in length) wooden boats, elaborately decorated with fabulous dragons or sea birds at the prow and stern, and flying flags. They were powered by forty to eighty experienced rowers, two to three at each long oar, and guided by a flagman's signals and a drummer who set the rhythm for the oarsmen. The dragon boat crews in the Qing dynasty also contained acrobats or exhorters, skilled at balancing on swings and platforms on the tail position, as can be detected in an enameled depiction. Truly the competition was dangerous as well as spectacular.[76] Both Manchu and Chinese bystanders would applaud any risky maneuvers, as when the rowers jostled for position while making forty-five degree turns around the central Isle of the Immortals in the Sea of Fortune. Perhaps Qianlong and his guests also appreciated the popular belief that auspicious dragons, who symbolized yang elements, were literally flying around the Isles of the Immortals over the water, a yin element, of the Sea of Fortune.

In all, the ceremonial purpose of this particular locale was integral to the design of this lake section of the imperial garden, as were the

personality and tastes of the Qian-long emperor. By contrast, his father, the Yongzheng emperor, originally associated this Garden of Perfect Brightness site with privacy and study. We know this from the single-storied, zigzag-shaped reading rooms, named the Deep Inside Weeping Willows Reading Hall (*Shenliu Dushu Tang*) which he built to the north of Looking Toward Yingzhou. A multi-paneled screen with paintings of twelve beauties, adorned in Chinese clothes, strictly forbidden to Manchus, surrounded his favorite chair.[77] The 1756 Clothing Records make no mention of his son visiting this particular reading room, probably because the Qianlong emperor associated the site with an entirely different spirit, as demonstrated by his design of the garden sector and its ceremonial purpose.

Finally, the five-poison pouch the Qianlong emperor wore and proclaimed others should also carry is perhaps the most powerful Double Fifth charm to ward off evil vapors that accumulated on this dangerous day. Other charms worn were small sachets of herbs and spices. People also decorated their homes with fingerlike mugwort, and sword-like, grassy-leaved sweet flag, to represent a hand holding a sword to ward off these evils.[78]

The Qianlong emperor probably had no time on the Double Fifth to rest or dine privately at the Beautiful and Clear Village located at the southeast corner of the lake. He frequently stopped at this easily accessible spot for rest and refreshments, however, as indicated in the 1756 Clothing Records, marking the venue as one of his favorite living quarters in the entire garden. He briefly stopped there after each of the two practice days before the actual Dragon Boat Festival. Yongzheng first built a site here, amid hills and water, around 1730 (eighth year of the Yongzheng reign), and selected the name to emphasize it as a vista. He also used the site as a place to fashion "pills of immortality,"[79] another Daoist-related practice.

His son expanded and renovated the venue in 1751 and 1762, renaming it Another Heaven Cave (*Bieyou Dongtian*). Its very name evokes Daoist themes such as the spirit of the idyllic village accessed through a cave and the perfect simpler society in the Peach Blossom Spring myth. The Qianlong emperor selected the artistically placed pavilions and other structures in an idyllic setting for depiction as Scene Thirty-four of the *Forty Favorite Scenes*. [80]

Artificial rocks also formed a massive hill directly behind the main audience hall. Named Longevity Hill, it originally ran the whole east-west length of the building. Sword or needle-shaped rocks stood bolt upright atop Longevity Hill, giving it a rugged, pointed profile. One surviving specimen, now at the Summer Palace,[81] allows us to imagine how imposing the mountain background of the audience hall was in the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors' eras. On the day of the

Dragon Boat Festival, Qianlong and his mother breakfasted together at the swastika-shaped building named Ten Thousand Directions Peace, after which the emperor boarded an imperial barge to the foot of Longevity Hill where then there was a dock, not indicated on any map found to date. This hard-working emperor then proceeded by palanquin to administer affairs at the Diligence in State Affairs Hall in order to complete administrative tasks before the races. He also observed the ritual of feeding the goldfish after dining alone at the Garden of Shared Joy, and before entertaining his guests with a banquet. All in all, the emperor was performing a set of rituals designed to symbolize the immensity of imperial power to his peoples.

AT THE IMPERIAL PAINTING ACADEMY (*RUYI GUAN*), (SEVENTH DAY OF THE FIFTH CHINESE MONTH)

We have seen that the Manchu rulers of China accepted many Chinese customs and institutions, such as the long-lived Dragon Boat Festival, but the degree of their cultural accommodation may best be measured in their related artistic creations: the imperial gardens, especially the Three Mountains and Five Gardens, and the landscape and calligraphic pieces from Qianlong's artists' atelier in the Imperial Painting the Academy. Located in western part of the Deep Place of the Vault of Heaven (*Dongtian Shenchu*), this region is Scene Forty of the *Forty Favorite Scenes* painted by the court artists, Shen Yuan and Tang Dai. The four-courtyard venue, featuring rows of identical barracks-like buildings near the east gate of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, the Imperial Painting Academy was an austere workplace, primarily for well-known artists such as Shen Yuan, Tang Dai, and Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining, 1688-1766), but also for a number of famous craftsmen, such as the jade carver, Yao Zongren. The early Manchu emperors researched and reflected on their multicultural experiences, notably in visits to the Jiangnan gardens or hunting parks north of the Great Wall. They then synthesized them and ordered artists to immortalize them in complex artistic creations.

For a better understanding of the unique ideals of both the emperor-patrons and artists, we view the Imperial Painting Academy in the context of the Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist traditions that inspired the scholar/creator of Chinese gardens. The Qianlong emperor's central role in his painting place, the atelier called the Imperial Painting Academy in the Garden of Perfect Brightness, is

demonstrated by his numerous visits, no fewer than seven recorded times in 1756, once two days after the Dragon Boat Festival:

> Seventh day of the fifth Chinese month. By four-man, illuminated palanquin to Embrace the Pure Fragrance of Flowers to breakfast, administer affairs. To the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to receive audiences, then took palanquin to Everlasting Spring Immortals Palace (*Changchun Xiangong*) to rest awhile; then by palanquin to the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to administer affairs. To Nine Continents, changed clothes, ate evening meal; then boarded barge to Beautiful and Clear Village to rest awhile; [then] took four-man, illuminated palanquin from Imperial Painting Academy to Nine Continents to retire.[82]

Since artists selected for the Imperial Painting Academy became part of the government bureaucracy, they entered a Confucian-inspired world of scholar officials based on relationships, respect for authority, and virtuous behavior. Their training, however, also involved immersing themselves in nature so that they could depict its forces, notably in landscape painting or in creating gardens, its three-dimensional counterpart. In pursuing this pastime, often in garden settings, Chinese artists expressed Daoist ideals. Moreover, because scholars of the Ming and Qing dynasties practiced meditation, they were influenced by Buddhist ideals, especially of the Chan (Meditation) Sect. In the light of these great traditions, it is fitting that the Qianlong emperor ordered his painting academy to be sited in the Garden of Perfect Brightness.

Studying Qing archival records led Yang Boda of the National Palace Museum, Beijing, to conclude in 1985 that Qianlong's academy was the most important of the whole period, in scale, comprehensiveness, level of production, quality of work, and period of operation. Though it occupied a place in the Qing dynasty similar to the government-operated Academy of Exhibited Illustrations and Paintings (*Xuan Tuhua Yuan*) in the Northern Song, the latter only existed for twenty years, whereas the former, unique in Chinese history, lasted sixty years.[83] By the Qing Imperial Painting Academy's varied products, it can be judged a generalized workshop producing the finest imperial objects, but overall it is more appropriately termed a top-level painting academy.[84]

The Veritable Records show, as do the Clothing Records of 1756, that because the Qianlong emperor and his successors continued to be influenced by the Manchu tradition of a nomadic hunting life, to practice their martial skills at Mulan[85] (Color Plate 1.7) they moved north and lived at the imperial palace at Chengde in the autumn, returning to the Forbidden City for the winter. In 1756 an imperial visit of sixty-six days at Chengde began two days after the Mid-Autumn Festival on the fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, and the court moved back to the Forbidden City for winter on the seventh

day of the eleventh Chinese month in 1756 where they resided during the twelfth and thirteenth Chinese months until the beginning of spring (just before the birthday of the Jade Emperor [*Yuhuang Dadi*] on the ninth day of the first Chinese month, in 1757). For this reason, the Qianlong emperor set up a painting academy in the Forbidden City, very close to his main residence, the Yangxin Palace (*Yangxin Dian*) in the western Six Palaces Complex.[86] The closeness enabled the Qianlong emperor to frequently satisfy his artistic interests, which he shared with other scholars. As patron, he inspected the state of the Beijing workshops and gave instructions on artwork at the Imperial Painting Academy.[87] Similarly, in the Garden of Perfect Brightness the Qianlong emperor, living in the Nine Continents main imperial residence or administering affairs in the nearby Diligence in State Affairs Hall could easily reach the Imperial Painting Academy, situated directly to the east of the latter complex. Sources reveal the emperor's close and personal involvement in many projects.

The Garden of Perfect Brightness Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records for the Imperial Painting Academy contain several accounts of Qianlong employing screen paintings to display imperial might. Specifically, he ordered Jesuit court artists to depict the Western faces of various foreigners, such as ambassadors sent to the court, or trusted individuals involved in the inner court. For example, the emperor ordered Castiglione in 1754 to find and select experienced portrait painters to depict sixty Westerners on a screen destined for the first European-style venue in the northern sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[88] During the emperor's sixty-year reign, many Garden of Perfect Brightness Imperial Painting Academy records, as well as those of other departments, attest his keen interest in every aspect of painting and the decorative arts that would grace his garden cosmos, but they also reveal him as a micromanager.

The Qianlong emperor was a significant art collector. He reputedly stated: "I dabbled in painting and calligraphy in my boyhood. Since I became emperor, I have always found time to wield the writing brush, finishing one volume after another without my knowing it."[89] Trained from youth as a painter, he was well schooled in classical techniques, though the results are debatable. Among the criticisms of his collecting activities are lamentations about his intrusively affixing his seals and inscriptions on the great works he collected. But Claudia Brown interprets this practice positively as being signs of Qianlong's confidence in having successfully absorbed the literati ideals, and of his keen interest in connoisseurship.[90] The emperor had the passion and the eye to surpass his forebearers in collecting, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Though tension existed between the throne and rich merchants, such as the salt merchants of Yangzhou, over the

disposition and ownership of some garden pieces or works of art, the throne won most such competitions. Commercial capital was never permitted to create an independent bourgeoisie with more influential tastes than the gentry-imperial culture of the court and its bureaucracy.[91]

While the Qianlong emperor's significance as a collector was undeniable, his role as art patron at the Imperial Painting Academy received little attention either in China or the West between 1935 and 1985. Contributing to the neglect of the Qing Academy until recently was the emphasis by the Palace Museums of Beijing and Taipei on the ancient, and in particular the Song works in their collections, which lent credence to their claims of cultural leadership. In the West, most art historians searched for authentic Song and Yuan styles on which to base a stylistic history of Chinese painting. In the mid-twentieth century, Western preference for art of the avant garde led to the rejection of all that was traditional or academic. Europeans were the exception to this fifty-year indifference to the Qing Academy. Their investigations, however, were largely restricted to studies by the Jesuits and other missionaries who worked at the Imperial Painting Academy.[92]

To evaluate the Qianlong emperor's significance to China with regard to art is beyond the scope of this work. His dual roles as a collector and as a patron of art at his Imperial Painting Academy, however, lead us to conclude that he contributed significantly to Chinese culture and considered the place an essential architectural element in his garden.

THE MID-AUTUMN FESTIVAL *(ZHONGQIU JIE)*

We have seen that the princes in the Palace School during the time of the Yongzheng emperor were allowed only five holidays, one of which was the Mid-autumn Festival on the fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, at the time of the autumn full moon. The festival focuses on the harvest moon, which shines larger and brighter than at any other time of the year, because its orbit is at its lowest angle to the horizon.

The Clothing Records of the Qianlong emperor's activities in the Garden of Perfect Brightness on the Mid-autumn Festival of 1756 follow:

Fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month. Mid-autumn Festival decreed: At

> Back Dock boarded barge to Gentle Clouds Cover All to offer Buddhist ritual; to Ten Thousand Directions Peace; to Buddhist hall at Sravasti to offer Buddhist ritual. To the Garden of Shared Joy for breakfast. By barge to the Diligence in State Affairs Hall to administer affairs. Then by barge to the Garden of Shared Joy, changed clothes, ate evening meal. Then returned to Nine Continents, rested awhile. By barge for in-motion viewing. Then changed clothes. Arrived then in front of the altar to the moon where he offered incense to the moon.[93]

The religious, administrative, and living sites specified as visited by the emperor on the fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month are by now familiar from earlier sections. The brief passage contains no indication of why he celebrated the festival in a garden setting, however, or exactly where he conducted religious rituals dedicated to the moon. No explanations are offered of the origin, importance, and popularity of the Mid-autumn Festival and its associated rich motifs: the selfless sacrifice, Yi the Archer, a trickster figure, theft from a god and punishment by metamorphosis, and the drug of immortality.[94]

To understand the garden setting for the Moon Festival, one notes its origin as an outdoor harvest festival, with time reserved to give thanks for successful yields of rice and wheat. In addition, moon-gazing is associated with the strong Daoist tradition in Chinese culture, that of going into hiding in retreats or places of withdrawal such as mountains, caves, or gardens, in order to attain longevity or immortality. All these retreats are yin, which has calmness as one of its principles, an essential characteristic of the Dao and of meditation. The passive waiting state appropriate to meditation is also that of gestation. This calm of meditation is often expressed in painting and poetry by the image of the full moon reflected in a mirror of calm water, or by a jade or an ice gourd. This background helps us grasp why the Qianlong emperor selected the perfect, literally round, bright garden, i.e. the Garden of Perfect Brightness, as the venue for observing the Mid-autumn Festival. Withdrawn and meditative Daoist, Buddhist, or Confucian recluses for generations had preceded him in passing the nights of the full moon in their container gardens or private gardens or caves, drawing from the separate world's vegetative powers, awaiting the result of gestation: the imperceptible seed of one's eternal essence. Then at dawn they moistened their eyes with the dew.[95]

Only women make offerings to the moon at the Mid-autumn Festival, for the birthday of the planet in the eighth month corresponds with the season when the yin, the female principle, is in the ascendant. Brightness is becoming eclipsed by darkness, yet at no other time is the moon so brilliant. Men are forbidden to worship the moon. The one exception to this rule is the emperor as the moon is his celestial sister.[96]

All offerings to the moon must be round, like mooncakes, melons,

and grapes, to honor the moon's perfect shape. Since the shape symbolizes both the moon, and also complete family unity, people also piled pomegranates, whose many seeds betoken multiple sons, on one of five offering platters. During the actual ceremony, Qianlong, at the Garden of Perfect Brightness, or the women in ordinary outdoor venues, bowed three times before offering two lighted candles to a wall print of the Moon Rabbit, depicted compounding the elixir of life on the head of a famous toad. The rabbit received such honors because he leaped into the fire to offer himself as food to the Buddha, who disguised as a saint, had asked for nourishment from his animal followers.[97] After the offerings to the festival's folklorist symbols, indicating its popular origins and magical elements, the worshipers burned the Moon Rabbit image with ceremonial paper money for his return to his heavenly abode. Then firecrackers scattered the ashes to the four winds.[98]

After the rituals, friends and relatives gathered in the evening to watch the moon while consuming fruit and sweet-filled mooncakes, and sipping tea until the perfect moment when the full moon reflected in the center of their cups.[99] Blind musicians, usually playing peaceful traditional tunes on recorders, like those to which the odes of the Tang lyric master Li Po were set, add greatly to the charm of any party on the Moon Festival.[100]

That the Qing emperors adopted the Han customs of the Moon Festival is not only confirmed by the already cited 1756 record of the Qianlong emperor's offering to the moon in the Garden of Perfect Brightness on the fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, but also by his ordering Castiglione and other court artists to depict him informally while gazing at the moon in a simple garden setting. An early portrait of the emperor absorbed in this act, with only two attendants, helps us understand that he valued the garden as a retreat venue as well as the proper setting conducive to receiving the meditative spirit for this Mid-autumn Festival. (Color Plate 1.8)

The question remains as to which outdoor site in the Garden of Perfect Brightness the Qianlong emperor selected for in-motion viewing of the autumn moon and for ritual offerings to this luminary in 1756. Carefully correlating his Southern Tours with his Jiangnan-inspired venues in the Garden of Perfect Brightness suggests the Reflecting the Moon on Three Pools (*Santan Yinyue*) as the most likely answer. (Fig. 1.13) Named after one of the most distinguished gardens in China on the West Lake of Hangzhou, he situated his small independent version directly west of and easily accessible to the Square Pots residence he constructed in the northwest corner of the Sea of Fortune. This lake, like the ponds of Tiger Hill in Suzhou that are frequented on this festival, enhances the moon-viewing by

providing reflections of the celestial lady lauded in the odes of Li Po. The structures around, and even within, one small pool of the venue were built to permit admiring the full moon in a truly distinctive manner.

In the reign of the Yuanyou emperor (1086-1094) of the Song dynasty, Su Zizhan, the prefectural governor who created the venue in Hangzhou, displayed mastery of both science and culture when he positioned three small pagodas in a triangle amid pool waters so accurately that the moon's reflection fell within it! Specifically, he first had the West Lake dug, the Su embankment built, and then issued a decree forbidding water caltrops (*lingjiao*) within the area of the pagodas—so the water's surface would smoothly reflect the harvest moon. Unfortunately, the pagodas were destroyed during the reign of the Hongzhi emperor (1488-1505) of the Ming dynasty. The Wanli emperor (1573-1620) restored the site, however, by deepening the lake and using its mud to form earthen embankments in a rectangular shape to form pools within the lake. It is probably this Ming version of the Reflecting the Moon on Three Pools at the West Lake of Hangzhou, which inspired the Qianlong emperor during his 1765 Southern Tours, so that he ordered his court artists to sketch it. (Fig. 1.14) Subsequently, he used it as a model to create his new version of a garden for moon gazing in his Garden of Perfect Brightness. (Fig. 1.15)

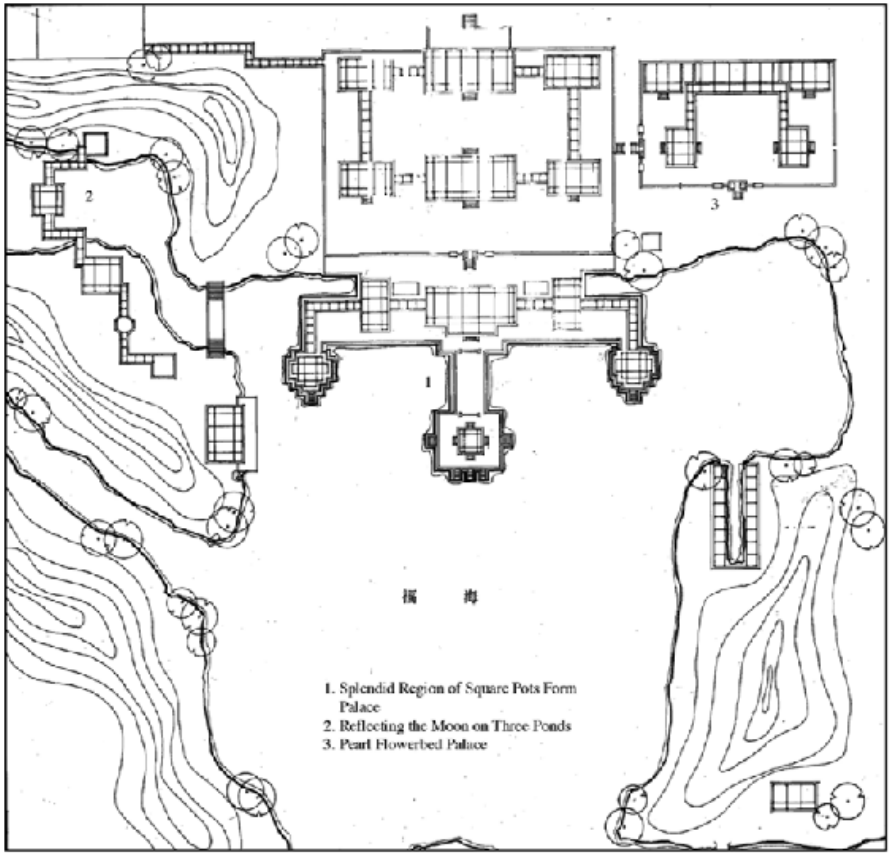


Figure 1.13 Square Pots Imperial Residence with Reflecting the Moon on Three Pools (*Santan Yingyue*) region. (Siu family collection).

The designer of the original Reflecting the Moon in Three Pools in fact created pools within a pool, then stocked them with liberated fish:[101] fish caught, then released out of Buddhist reverence for all living things. Of course, the three pagodas were the focal point of the southern pool. Overlooking them, he built a central pavilion to their north, another to their east, and one to their west. Zigzag bridges with red railings stretched on a north-south axis over the fish pond behind the central pavilion. Spacious halls with long, covered viewing corridors connected the sections of these bridges. The overall result was not only three pools within a pool, but also isles amid an island. Finally, varied colored hibiscus (*mufurong*)[102] flowered on the embankments around the pools, which reflected their transient beauty. In the gentle breezes, they seemed like patterned silk fabrics turning and encircling the area.[103]

As noted, the Qianlong emperor ordered this prized venue depicted during his 1765 Southern Tours. Then he ordered a site for moon-gazing positioned west of his Square Pots venue in the northeast

Garden of Perfect Brightness abutting the Sea of Fortune. It was inspired by the Hangzhou venue, but he creatively expressed certain garden elements for moon-gazing in a new way. On viewing a sketch of Qianlong's version, also named *Reflecting the Moon on Three Pools*, we immediately spot the same important focal point, namely the three small pagodas arranged in the water in a triangle, but positioned at an angle, no doubt so as to catch the harvest moon in the center. Overlooking them, the emperor built a central pavilion to their north, and another to their east, and one to their west. These pavilions are an integral part of an extensive zigzag bridge stretching over the center of this pond on a north-south axis. Finally, three pagodas adorn the western section of an east-west pool, which engineers fashioned by embankments. Varied swaying trees grace the embankments around the waters that reflected their beauty, but no lotuses (*he*) or water chestnuts disturb the smooth surface.

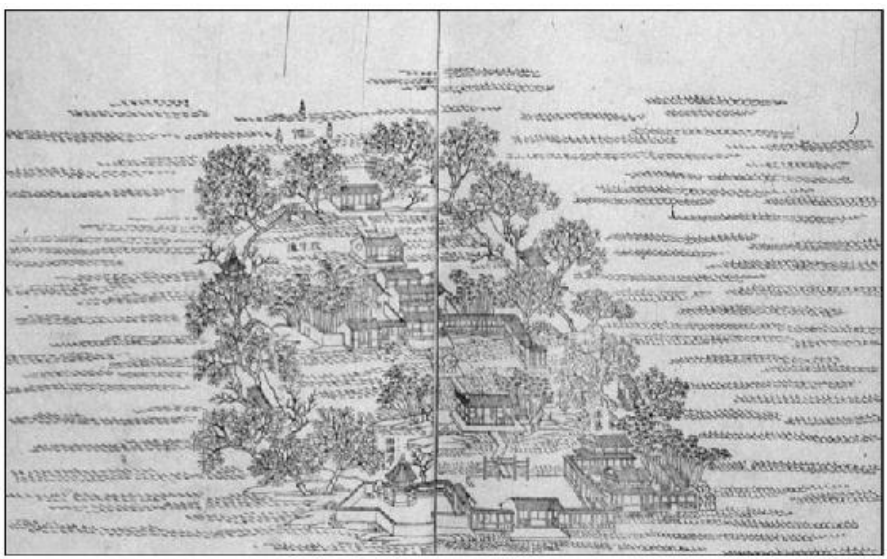


Figure 1.14 Woodcut of Reflecting the Moon on Three Pools, Hangzhou, from *Nanxun Shengdian*. 1771. (Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Room).

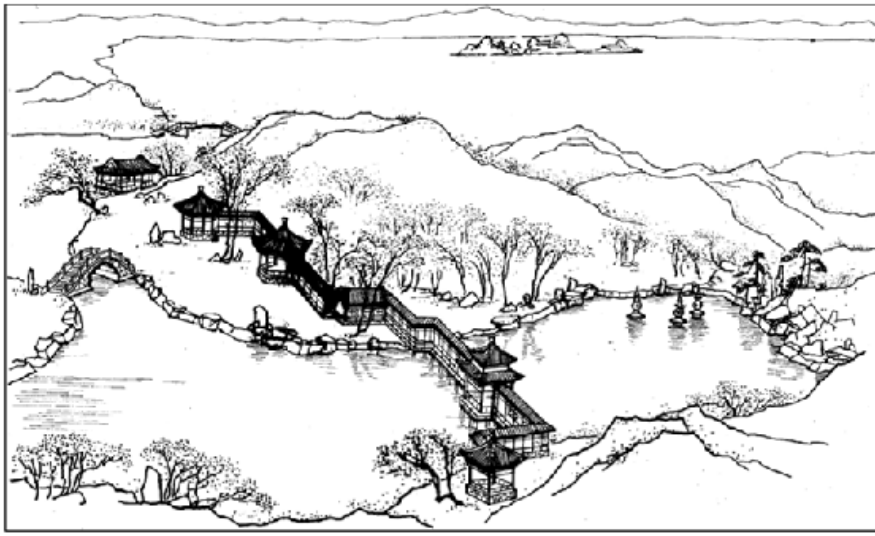


Figure 1.15 Garden of Perfect Brightness's Reflecting the Moon on Three Pools. (Siu family collection).

At first glance, it seems the newer garden settles for a single pool instead of three and no spacious halls with long, covered viewing corridors at intervals along multiple zigzag bridges. In fact, the Qianlong emperor demonstrated admirable restraint by ordering far fewer structures in his garden within a garden than did the creators of the Ming version. He limited himself to a single hall overlooking the southeastern shore, two bridges of contrasting sizes, the longer one punctuated by the three pavilions, and, of course, the three pagodas sited in the western pool. The emperor further used the zigzag bridge to divide the single pool into two pools, the west pond and the central one that bends sharply to the south. The third or east pond begins at the small, arched bridge that seemingly marks the entrance to the garden within the garden. Actually, the ensuing section of waters enclosed by two embankments and overlooked by the above-mentioned lone hall on the southeastern bank constitutes the missing third, east pond. The overall result, then, is three pools within a pool. Qianlong's architectural austerity enhanced the landscape elements of water and mountains.

We have noted that the Qianlong emperor, unlike the creator of the original Hangzhou garden, utilized artificial mountains to facilitate the necessary quietude for a garden experience. The tall hill augmented with rock peaks and positioned at the limits of the small garden's western shore, which blocks our view of the multiple docks farther west, allowed him to focus on the nearer west scene intended for this garden within the garden, namely the reflection of the mid-autumn moon amid the pagodas.[104]

During the Mid-autumn Festival then, Qianlong probably selected

this venue to admire the harvest moon. No doubt he refrained from holding any banquets here.[105] He had entered the eastern pool, the first of three, in a vessel launched from the nearby dock on the western limits of Square Pots. (Otherwise, he would have had to clamber over the high artificial mountains that separated the two sites.) The imperial barge, traveling west, passed the single hall in the southern end of the garden within the garden, then went under the small, gold-colored arched bridge marking the mouth of the central pool. This section initially bent sharply northward before changing direction to due west. A natural quietness induced by the solitude amid a miniature landscape contained within hills, gradually descended upon the emperor. On the Moon Festival, his barge landed close to the small pavilion that constituted the entrance to the extensive covered zigzag bridge that bisected the east-west pool. From its central pavilion, his glance met peerless landscapes on all sides. At first, perhaps he enjoyed the autumnal colors of the swaying trees and prized strange rocks bordering the shores in front of well-designed artificial hills. But as the moon ascended to its zenith, he doubtlessly focused solely on its reflection until the moment it reached the center of the triangle formed by the three pagodas.

The Qianlong emperor's creative interpretation of the Hangzhou garden in the Garden of Perfect Brightness carries the ideals of Chinese garden design to a new level. Its fewer architectural elements nevertheless admirably enhance the natural landscape elements without any hint of a possible superfluity, as occurred in the Ming version of the Hangzhou garden.

Apart from entertaining guests, presiding at rituals and diverse events, and patronizing the arts, studying the records of precedents was an essential part of the lives of Qing emperors because they were vital for administering state affairs to a multicultural people. The exciting medley of festivals celebrated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries belong to the Han Chinese, the majority group, about ninety percent of the total population today. The ten percent of the population, made up of fifty-five ethnic groups, occupied fifty to sixty percent of the country's land area and made many contributions to Chinese culture, as recent scholarly studies reveal. Undoubtedly, one source containing valuable materials from the several cultures is the Garden of Perfect Brightness imperial garden. There a trio of early Manchu rulers sought to embody the best of Han and minority cultures as expressed in its design and usage.

From boyhood to old age, the Kangxi emperor studied assiduously in order to run his country well. He said: "I loved reading at an early age. Though I am old, I still keep a book in hand. The country's affairs are highly complicated. How can a monarch confined in the Forbidden

City know them all? To avoid mistakes, I must learn from the ancients by reading their books."[106] Accordingly, he designed a course of academic studies based on the scholars' curriculum for the crown prince and his other sons, namely the Confucian classics, history, literature, philosophy, and the arts. Kangxi himself also had a mathematical and scientific bent, which accounted for his choice of the particular Jesuits who served at his court. In contrast, his grandson the Qianlong emperor's preference was for the arts, which he demonstrated on a grand scale. In addition, both emperors sponsored monumental studies of the literature of their majority subjects. They, as well as the Yongzheng emperor, also built at least eight places in the region west of Beijing to house their precious collections of books in every field.[107] By including libraries in their gardens, they followed the Chinese scholar officials' tradition, for they always designed studies to which they retreated to study the wisdom of the ancients in order to gain the proper perspective on the present and the future.

In his imperial garden, the Garden of Joyful Spring, the Kangxi emperor constructed two studios to the southeast of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. The Mirror of Literature Studio (*Yuanjian Zhai*) and the Scholarly Honor Studio (*Peiwen Zhai*) housed the three voluminous collections, named after the two studies that were compiled under his sponsorship, the 450-chapter Categorized boxes of the Yuanjian Studio (*Yuanjian Leihan*), the Rhyme Treasury of the Admiring Literature [Studio] (*Peiwen Yunfu*), and the 100-chapter Guide to Calligraphy and Painting from the Peiwen Studio (*Peiwen Zhai Shuhuapu*).

The Qianlong emperor preferred to study in one of the five libraries or in the many reading rooms he constructed in the Garden of Perfect Brightness. They were named the Green Phoenix Tree Library/Academy (*Bitong Shuyuan*), the Four Harmonies Studio (*Sihe Zhai*), the Gathering Fragrance Library/Academy (*Huifang Shuyuan*), the Ancient and Modern Library (*Rugu Hanjin*), and the main library, the Source of Literature Pavilion (*Wenyuan Ge*). Though the last Qing site is considered the most outstanding, according to the 1756 Clothing Records, Qianlong did not select it as one of the *Forty Favorite Scenes*, or visit it, simply because it was still unfinished in 1757.[108]

The emperor's wardrobe official does note six distinct visits, the last in the winter, to the Gathering Fragrance Library/Academy situated immediately west of the Ancestral Shrine in the northwest; it is Scene Eighteen of the *Forty Favorite Scenes*. (Fig. 1.16) Also recorded is one visit by the Qianlong emperor to study at the Ancient and Modern Library immediately west of the Nine Continents. Other library entries in the Clothing Records exist, but they concern functions other than studying:

> Twenty-sixth day of the ninth Chinese month. By four-man, warmed palanquin out the Garden of Elegance Gate, to Longevity Hill to eat breakfast, followed by in-motion viewing there. Then via Old Road returned, entering the Garden of Elegance Gate where boarded barge to the Gathering Fragrance Library/Academy. By four-man, warmed palanquin to Care for Cultivation, Thought for Eternity (*Shenxiu Siyong*); by barge to Nine Continents, rested awhile; by barge from Immortals' Abode on Penglai Isle to Beautiful and Clear Village, ate evening meal. Then by four-man, warmed palanquin returned to Nine Continents.[109]

The Gathering Fragrance Library/Academy in the northwest was famous not only for its books, but also for its scenery, particularly after a snowfall. Bounded on three sides by water, the heart of this library complex on the main island features an eyebrow-shaped eastern hall that extended over the water. The Qianlong emperor enjoyed being there to admire the fresh November snowfall on the mountain to its east across the water and on the nearby strange rocks. He could also venture out to the southeast peninsula to appreciate a Hangzhou West Lake-inspired scene centered on the famous Broken Bridge with Snow Residue (*Duanqiao Canxue*). (Fig. 1.17) From the center of this arched, layered, blue stone bridge, he commanded a panoramic view of the whole silver-colored Garden of Perfect Brightness to the south, or the more distant whitened Western Hills. Nearby, on either side, oddly-shaped stones and dense pines graced the shores. The Chinese appreciated the resulting green and white winter landscape.[110]

Figure 1.16 Detail of Library for Gathering Fragrance *(Huifang Shuyuan)*, glossy engraving. (Siu family collection).

At first glance, it seems the emperor's imperial poem on the Gathering Fragrance Library/Academy focuses less on the scenery

than on the housed collection, with its potential for gaining perspective. In fact, another Qianlong verse, this time for the Source of Literature Pavilion, expressed an integration of the two: the library's landscape setting was the font of literature. The first poem reads: "A new library is opened with the name 'Gathering Fragrance.' This name is given not because of the foliage and the flowers in the region, but really because of the important books in the building, which will form Sages. The latter will help me be bright and wise before every nation."[111]

One of the Qianlong emperor's two most enduring accomplishments was the compilation of the 200-chapter Complete Library of Four Branches of Literature (*Siku Quanshu*). Eminent scholars under the direction of the chief editor, Ji Yün, reviewed and commented on about 10,230 titles[112] to complete seven sets housed in seven libraries built for them. One copy was housed in the newly-completed Source of Literature Pavilion.[113] The Qianlong project was both an act of glorification and censorship; because while the emperor established a corpus of classical literature, he also ordered the burning of 2,262 books deemed critical of the Qing dynasty.

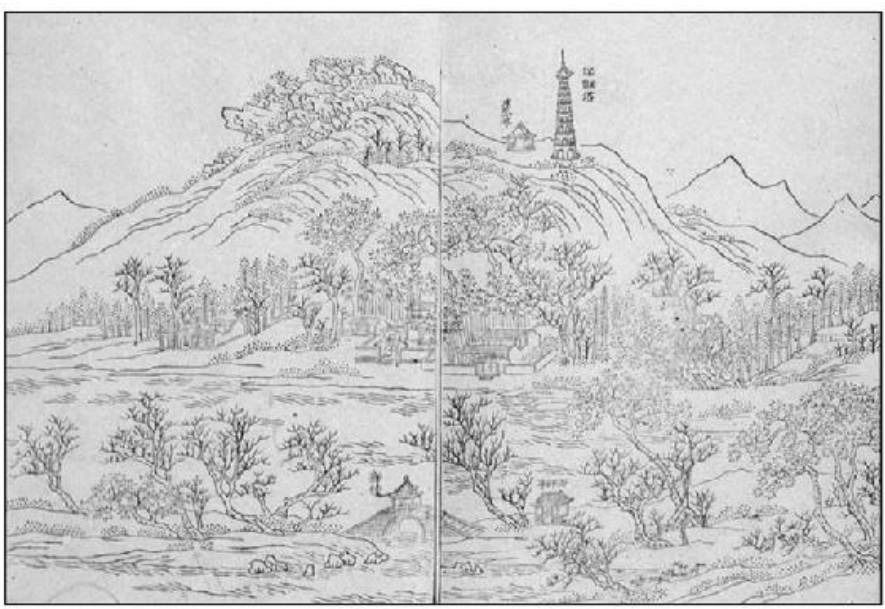


Figure 1.17 Woodcut of Broken Bridge with Snow Residue *(Duanqiao Canxue)*, Hangzhou, from *Nanxun Shengdian*. 1771. (Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Room).

According to the emperor's inscription on the large marble stele set in the courtyard at the Source of Literature Pavilion, its construction began in 1774 (thirty-ninth year of the Qianlong reign) and was completed only two years later. No good illustration of it is available. A carving on an ink cake, produced at the Qianlong emperor's palace

workshops, depicts the scene's western region with its country houses, rice paddy, trees and the library's court wall.[114] Inscribed on the reverse side of this ink cake is another Qianlong poem. After revealing the main library's purpose of housing the immense collection of Chinese books and manuscripts of four classifications (classics, history, philosophy, and belle-lettres), he expressed why he limited the scenery to only the lake, stream, and trees near the court entrance: the beautiful landscape was the source of literature, as Chinese scholars regarded landscape as wordless poetry.

A third image is a sketch of the design of the region of this main library in the Garden of Perfect Brightness. The emperor modeled it after the famous First Pavilion of Heaven (*Tianyi Ge*), in Ningbo, which was built over 210 years earlier. His imperial library stood in the north of a very elaborate rectangular garden (124 feet north to south by 65 feet east to west) and faced a large pond and an artificial mountain to its south. A huge twenty-foot stone within the pond featured the emperor's and his ministers' poems. A canal, bridges, pavilions, and trees graced the garden, which were encircled by walls and streams. Rice paddies to the east and to the west cleansed the air and cooled the complex. The crops likewise symbolized the emperor's nurturing functions.

Several members of the French Expeditionary Force to China in 1860 left interesting accounts concerning a library in the Garden of Perfect Brightness, very probably the main one, the Source of Literature Pavilion. The eyewitness, Comte d'Hérisson, wrote:

> On the right of this artificial mountain, following a labyrinth (*wanhuazhen*) whose tortuous paths easily lead one astray within a space of fifty square meters, rises a large building. It is the imperial library. Its roof with yellow tiles resembles that of the throne room and, like it, is peopled with a menagerie of black dragons chasing other chimerical monsters. The room is twelve meters high, ten wide, and forty long. On every wall are shelves, upon which are heaped very old and curious manuscripts and books, well labeled and all in good order. In addition it contains tables and armchairs for studious visitors. . . . From these beautiful and magnificent libraries of the [Garden of Perfect Brightness] with their many rare books and precious manuscripts, there is nothing left—just like what happened in Alexandria.[115]

Another French eyewitness, simply known as Hôte, noted a planisphere and a map of the world with all lines of navigation precisely drawn on it.[116]

The 1756 Clothing Records mention the Qianlong emperor's single September visit to a closer Garden of Perfect Brightness library, the Ancient and Modern Library. Located immediately to the west of his Nine Continents chief residence, it served not only as a quiet reading room but also as a lecture hall for discussing ancient and modern

works. The library's name and the subjects discussed indicate that Qianlong, like other scholars, saw himself as part of a historical continuum of past, present, and future.[117] Directly north of the centrally-located library was a two-storied square structure, named the Harmonious Scenery Study (*Shaojing Xuan*). It featured a two-storied, unroofed terrace for viewing either heavenly phenomena or the Back Lake of the imperial garden to its northeast. The studio's sharply pointed roof served as a marker in the Garden of Perfect Brightness.[118] Such an arrangement facilitated the emperor's gaining proper perspective in another library with a garden setting.[119] He selected it to be depicted by court artists as Scene Eleven of the *Forty Favorite Scenes*.

The imperial poem for the Ancient and Modern Library, which expresses the emperor's awareness of history and order, reads in part: "This is a vast building where there is no hot weather. The readers within seem to have a cool spirit, like iced tea in a jade pot. Is [one] not happy in often rereading the books already studied in ancient times? . . . The quiet amid fragrant flowers [except for the birds singing] helps one understand theories. . . . We do not neglect modern science, and we like ancient literature. We especially appreciate the old poet, Du Shaoling [An alternate name for Du Fu of the Tang dynasty]."[120]

General Charles G. Cousin de Montauban, chief of the French Expeditionary Force to China in 1860, left the following interesting account in his memoires: "A palace, the pillage of which I deplored, was the one which contained the Chinese archives, consisting of numerous pictures, measuring fifty centimeters on each side, with a scroll indicating the subject of the design. The entire history of China must have been told in this collection of paintings, the colors of which were as bright as if they had just come from the painter's brush."[121]

It seems that the archives palace in question might have been either the Ancient and Modern Library or the Gathering Fragrance Library/Academy, though there were also additional repositories of secondary importance in the Garden of Perfect Brightness.

SIXTEENTH DAY OF TENTH CHINESE MONTH: FROM GARDEN OF QUIET DELIGHT *(JINGYI YUAN)* ON FRAGRANT HILL *(XIANG SHAN)* THE IMPERIAL VISIT TO THE GARDEN OF

PERFECT BRIGHTNESS

The emperor's schedule in the fall was much the same as it had been earlier in the year:

> Ate breakfast, then by eight-man, warmed palanquin from Garden of Quiet Delight to the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence on Jade Spring Hill for in-motion viewing.122 Then by boat to Longevity Hill, by four-man, warmed palanquin for in-motion viewing. Entered [Garden of Perfect Brightness] by the Garden of Elegance Gate to Nine Continents, to rest awhile; by sleigh for in-motion viewing to Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall (*Hanjing Tang*), in heart of the Garden of Everlasting Spring annex: ate evening meal; then from Beautiful and Clear Village returned to Nine Continents to end the day.123

To understand this route better, it would be well to become familiar with the extensive modern waterways established by the early Qing emperors and still in partial use today. They enabled people to sail from the Jade Spring Hill, the source of the waters, to the Garden of the Clear Ripples, then to the Garden of Perfect Brightness, and finally to the three lakes: North Lake (*Bei Hai*), Central Lake (*Zhong Hai*), and South Lake (*Nan Hai*), immediately west of the Forbidden City. Furthermore, these lakes were the preferred way of traveling within the Garden of Perfect Brightness itself. The two entrances for the lakes, one into the Garden of Elegance in the southwest corner of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, and the other into the northern sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring as well as the water routes traveled by the Qianlong emperor are now known, thanks to recent studies by He Zhongyi and Zeng Jiaofen, and will be amplified in the section on the Jade Spring Hill containing the source of the waters.

CONCLUSION

The unofficial nature of the recently-published Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records for the Qianlong emperor's activities in the Garden of Perfect Brightness for the year 1756 provide us with valuable unembellished sources. With this new information, historians can modify the common image of both the man and the imperial garden he embellished in order to make it his World in Miniature Garden (*Tianxia Penjing*). We have seen how the emperor represented his cosmological view in different sectors of his Garden of Perfect Brightness. The venues, however, served a common purpose: to represent the eighteenth century Chinese world politically, religiously (Confucian, Daoist, Buddhist, popular), and ethnically. Moreover, we detect why the court favored certain festivals stemming from these

beliefs, not necessarily for the emperor himself, but because of the courtiers and court ladies, especially the Qianlong emperor's mother.

Finally, the sources reveal not only the garden's basic elements (mountains, hills, buildings), but, more important, the Garden of Perfect Brightness's ceremonial significance from the emperor's ritual activities within it. Rituals are often calm and stately and convey a sense of built-in beauty. But, even if well performed, they can also feel empty, unless the spirit behind them gives them life. The Qianlong emperor constantly searched for the dynamic sources for all types of formal political, religious, and popular activities performed in his imperial garden. He was therefore enormously concerned about Chinese culture, which he tried to preserve in its many and varied manifestations. What better or more fitting venue than a world garden, the Garden of Perfect Brightness, to embody such a living enterprise?

NOTES

1. See paraphrase of activities in Wong, *A Paradise Lost*, 119.

2. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 827, eighth day of the first Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

3. Harold Kahn, "A Matter of Taste: The Monumental and Exotic in the Qianlong Reign," in *Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting Under the Qianlong Emperor, 1735-1795*, eds. Ju-hsi Chou and Claudia Brown (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1985), 293.

4. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 830-38, fourteenth to twenty-seventh day of the first Chinese month; eight times in sixth Chinese month, 2: 869-82.

5. Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943-1944), 221-22, 369, 594-99.

6. Ibid., 372, 580-81.

7. Norman Kutcher, "The Death of the Xiaoxian Empress: Bureaucratic Betrayals and the Crises of Eighteenth-Century Chinese Rule," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56, no. 3 (August 1997): 710-11.

8. Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 219-26.

9. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 960, 908; Ya Hanzhang, *Dalailama Zhuan* (Biographies of the Dalai Lamas) (Beijing: *Renmin chubanshe*, 1984), 44.

10. The color red is auspicious. Since the term *dan* also signifies cinnabar, it is connected with alchemic writings and the imperial court like the emperor's vermillion script. See *Hanyu Da Cidian*.

(Encyclopedia of the Chinese language), Luo Zhufeng, chief ed. (Shanghai: *Hanyu da cidian she*, 1990, 1991), 684.

11. Crossley, "*Manzhou yuanliu kao*," 761-90.

12. Ibid., 830-31, fifteenth day of the first Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

13. Carol Stepanchuk and Charles Wong, *Mooncakes and Hungry Ghosts: Festivals of China* (San Francisco: China Books and Periodicals, 1991), 33-34.

14. Wan Yi, et. al, *Daily Life in the Forbidden City*, 234.

15. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 519; Huang and Huang, *Yuanming Yuan*, 144.

16. No doubt Shen Yuan and Tang Dai painted the Qianlong emperor's *Forty Favorite Scenes* in the Garden of Perfect Brightness proper, but the *Yuanming Yuan historical materials* for the *Ruyi Guan* Painting Academy, 2: 1245, no. 171, confirms they collaborated with Castiglione. The emperor appreciated Castiglione's figure painting. Furthermore, from no. 182, 2: 1251, sixth day of the third Chinese month, third year of the Qianlong reign, we learn Shen Yuan painted the buildings in the imperial garden. The emperor ordered Tang Dai to paint the mountains, trees and stones. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan* (n.p. opposite authors' photographs), states that the accompanying imperial poems are in Wang Youdun's calligraphy.

17. *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing tuyong* (Forty Favorite Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan in illustrations and verses) (Beijing: *Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe*, 1985), 39. Che Bing Chiu describes the format of the album with its paintings and poems in "Droiture et Clarté: scène paysagère au Jardin de la Clarté Parfaite," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 19, nos. 3/4 (autumn/winter 1999): 364-75.

18. Wan Yi, et al., *Daily Life in the Forbidden City*, 267.

19. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 13.

20. Stein, *The World in Miniature*, 212-16, associates the end of the no longer extant festival of the dead on the Double Three, which had a similar ancient practice, with the diffusion of Buddhist ideas and various details transplanted to the two, soon-to-be-discussed, remaining festivals of the dead, namely the Pure Brightness [Memorial Day] Festival (*Qingming Jie*) for deceased ancestors and Ghost Festival (*Jungyuan Jie*) for wandering, unhappy souls who have not benefited from family rituals.

21. Colin Mackerras, *The Rise of the Peking Opera, 1770-1870: Social Aspects of the Theater in Manchu China* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 116-19, 123.

22. Huang and Huang, *Yuanming Yuan*, 105.

23. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 200-207.

24. In modern times, the inscription would be comparable to a motto on a government building. For a detailed explanation of how the imperial city's design is an articulated concept and the ideology behind it, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 1-19. The author points out that the imperial city was such a powerful symbol of rule that non-Chinese conquerors, such as the Manchus, would always select a Chinese design rather than plans from their homeland.

25. Comte d' (Maurice d'Irisson) Hérrison, *Journal d'un interprète en Chine*, 4e ed. (Paris: Ollendorf, 1886), 315. For Lord Macartney's account of the Audience Hall, see Helen Robbins, *Our First Ambassador to China* (London: J. Murray, 1908), 279. For Sir George L. Staunton's account of this venue, see *An Authentic Account of an Embassy for the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China*, 2 vols. (London: W. Blumer, 1797-[98]) 2: 127-28.

26. Alain Peyrefitte, *The Immobile Empire*, trans. Jon Rothschild (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1992), 252-55, states that the weary Macartney was mildly interested in a display of wrestling, dancing and tumbling by acrobats, but he admitted that the "novelty, neatness, and ingenuity of contriv-ance" of the fireworks "exceeded anything of the kind I have ever seen." During the entire lavish entertainment "dead silence was rigidly observed," but the Qianlong emperor sent various refreshments throughout it to the British envoy, though he refused to discuss diplomatic matters with him.

27. Cited by Zhang Yuhuan, "*Yuanming Yuan li de Sheweicheng*" (*Yuanming Yuan's Sheweicheng*), in *Zhongguo Yuanming Yuan xuehui choubei weiyuan hui*, *Yuanming Yuan* 5 (1991, 1992): 110-12. The authors published in this journal, which has five issues (1981-1992), are Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid. Tens of thousands of these sacred images were lost, looted or destroyed in 1860 by the Anglo-French troops, and later by the populace. Further, in the ninth year of the Tongzhi emperor (r. 1862-1875), a Chinese official stole some statues hidden in a well and in store-rooms during the dead of night.

30. The three Qing emperors under discussion as builders of the Garden of Perfect Brightness were among the most hardworking rulers in China's 2,000 year traditional history as can be deduced from the fact that the Qianlong emperor performed official business even on major festivals. They also recognized that communication with their subjects increased efficiency. The Kangxi emperor went so far as to invite high officials to dine with him and also to enjoy the scenery, drink wine, and compose poems with him in his gardens. His grandson, the Qianlong emperor, used his proficiency in languages

(Manchu, Han, Mongolian, Uighur, and Tibetan) when he gave banquets and entertainments for leaders of ethnic minorities like the Mongol princes and chiefs on the Lantern Festival in 1756. In this way he publicized the Qing basic policy of unity and harmony (*he*) among the various nationalities in his empire.

31. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 835-38, twenty-first to twenty-eighth day of the first Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

32. Ibid.

33. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 14.

34. Zhou Weiquan, "*Yuanming Yuan de xingjian jiqi zaoyuan yishu jiantan*" (A talk on the construction and the art of garden planning of the Yuanming Yuan), *Yuanming Yuan*, 1 (1981): 32; Huang and Huang, *Yuanming Yuan*, 144.

35. Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 64; and Mann, *Precious Records*, 198, 275. The latter cites Jonathan Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor: Bondservant and Master* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 130, to clarify the identity of the mother who accompanied the Kangxi emperor on his third Southern Tour (1699). His own Manchu mother, the Xiaokang Empress (孝康章皇后, 1640-1663), was long deceased, as was the respected Mongolian grandmother who raised him. Named the Xiaozhuang Superior Empress Dowager (孝庄皇太后, 1613-88), she was solicitous of his health, highly influential in his education and in domestic affairs since the emperor, unlike his father the Shunzhi emperor, always consulted her regarding them. It was she who encouraged him to keep up the hunting and riding pastimes of their peoples as indicated in Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 300-301, 321, 255-59 and Jonathan Spence, *Emperor of China: Self Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: Random House, 1975), 39, 104-5, 108. Therefore, the "mother" who accompanied the Kangxi emperor in 1699 is her grandniece, the Empress Xiaohui (孝惠皇后, 1641-1718), who was the Mongolian stepmother of the Kangxi emperor. She had previously fallen out of favor in 1656 when Kangxi's father focused his affections, despite the opposition of his mother and the court, on a new Manchu consort from the Dongo clan, posthumously named the Empress Xiaoxian (孝獻皇后, 1639-1660).

36. Mann, *Precious Records*, 32-33, 183, 194-99.

37. Jean Joseph Marie Amiot, *Memoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, etc. des chinois par les missionaires de Pékin* (Paris: Nyon, 1780), 356.

38. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 279.

39. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 135-40.

40. Stein, *The World in Miniature*, 91-100. See also *Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas [Shan hai jing]*, Richard E. Strassberg, ed., trans. with commentary (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), for a discussion of a wide range of strange creatures, including impressive geographic mountain and rock formations, which the Chinese interpreted both allegorically and described as actual entities within the landscape.

41. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 25.

42. Zhou, "Yuanming Yuan," 38-39; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 4.

43. It is significant that shortly after his accession in 1737, building records of the Garden of Perfect Brightness include a tablet inscribed by the young emperor either seven times or with seven couplets and entitled the composition "*qingjingdi*." See Zhang Enyin 張恩蔭, *Yuanming Yuan bianqian shi tanwei* (Exploring the history of changes to the Yuanming Yuan) (Beijing: *Beijing tiyuxueyuan chubanshe*, 1993), 90. From this tablet one may deduce that the term is not a formal name, as it is too simple compared to every other name within the Garden of Perfect Brightness, but a term marking a place's characteristics.

44. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 844-45, ninth day of the fourth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

45. Ibid., 845.

46. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 135-40.

47. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 863-64.

48. Stephen Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2000), 189-93. The Daoist ritual may last from several hours to several days. Among the sacred dance forms is the pacing of the stars of the Big Dipper (called Northern Dipper by the Chinese).

49. Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *Tsuihsin shihyung Hanying tsidian* (A new practical Chinese-English dictionary) (Taipei: Far East Book Co., 1984), 1259.

50. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 1: 43.

51. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 106.

52. Huang and Huang, *Yuanming Yuan*, 90.

53. Zhao Guanghua, Interview by author, Beijing, China, June 14, 1995.

54. In Dao Qian's fable, a fisherman accidentally finds an idyllic place on the other side of a mountain. Attracted by the sight and scent of blossoming peach trees one spring, he discovers a magic grotto which he enters and so penetrates the mountain. Most wonderfully the diverse-aged inhabitants in the society on the other side live simply and honestly together. Significantly, these agrarian people mark time

by observing the seasons rather than by the complex traditional method of noting which dynasty is in power.

55. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 18-19. Few of Li Sixun's paintings survived.

56. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 854, twenty-ninth day of the fourth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

57. Ibid., 855.

58. Achille Poussielgue, *Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. de Bourboulon, ministre de France et de Madame de Bourboulon, 1860-1861*, 1e Partie: La Chine (Paris: Hachette, 1866), 102. Unpublished translation, John T. P. Siu.

59. C. A. S. Williams, *Outlines of Symbols and Art Motives*, 3rd revised ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1976), 296.

60. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 20. We have already noted the work contains no references to sources.

61. Poussielgue, *Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie*.

62. Wan Yi, "*Qianlong shiqi de yuanyou*" (Gardens and animal enclosures in the reign of Qianlong), *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, 2 (1984), 16-17. See also Lothar Ledderose, "Peng-lai and Jodo: Some Paradise Compounds in China and Japan," *International Symposium on the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property: Interregional Influences in East Asian Art History (Oct. 6-9, 1981)* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, 1982), 111-18 for a concise history of the Paradise Islands in Chinese imperial gardens.

63. Contrast Wolfgang Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness: Recurring Themes in Four Thousand Years of Chinese Cultural History*. Trans. Michael Shaw (New York: Seabury Press, 1976), which labels the Isles as popular superstitions, to new scholarship on Daoism by Lydia Kohn, which corrects such oversimplifications.

64. Harold Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 118-19.

65. Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Myths and Rebuses in Chinese Art* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1988), 17-18.

66. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 855-58, first, fourth, and fifth days of the fifth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

67. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 280-81.

68. Huang and Huang, *Yuanming Yuan*, 92.

69. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 855-58, first, fourth, and fifth days of the fifth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

70. Ellen Johnston Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction of Sima Guang's *Duluo Yuan* and the View from the Chinese Garden," *Oriental Art* 33

(Winter 1987/88): 379-80.

71. Wan Yi, et. al, *Daily Life in the Forbidden City*, 234. *Zongzi* were also offered to the gods and imperial ancestors.

72. Stepanchuk and Wong, *Mooncakes and Hungry Ghosts*, 41, 44-47. Another explanation for the Dragon Boat Festival given by the authors links the delicate process of transplanting rice with the ritual simulation of ancestral visits through the annual dragon boat races. It has also been suggested that the earliest dragon boat contests were so violent that at least one boat capsized and one person drowned—as a human sacrifice to the river gods. A third explanation is that the festival is rooted in fertility rites to ensure an abundant rainfall for the rice crop. This entailed special ceremonies in honor of the Dragon King (*Long Wang)* who controlled the rivers and rainfall.

73. Huang and Huang, *Yuanming Yuan*, 84.

74. Actually, it was located in the central part of Scene Thirty of the Qianlong emperor's *Forty Favorite Scenes*.

75. Stein, *The World in Miniature*, 42, 63-64.

76. For a discussion of the guardian deity for each dragon boat and rituals to protect boats during dangerous maneuvers, see Stepanchuk and Wong, *Mooncakes and Hungry Ghosts*, 42-44.

77. Wu Hung, "Beyond Stereotypes: The Twelve Beauties in Qing Court Art and the 'Dream of the Red Chamber,'" in *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, ed. Ellen Widmer and Kang-I Sun Chang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 341-44. The emperor composed three poems (out of fifty on the Garden of Perfect Brightness), more than for any other locale. The author also discusses how this reading room constitutes a feminine space for the prince, in ibid., 344-50. The symbolism of this reading room and that of the entire imperial garden given him by his father, the Kangxi emperor, changed radically after Yongzheng became emperor in 1725, for he decided to construct official buildings within it, thereby destroying its private cachet. In 1731, he ordered the painting of the Twelve Beauties removed from the screen and placed in storage. See *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 1220, no. 117, twenty-eighth day of the second Chinese month, ninth year of the Qianlong reign, Mounting [Paintings, etc.] Department (*Biao Zuo*). They are now at the Palace Museum, Beijing.

78. Either embroidered on pouches, as in the case of the emperor, or sewn onto children's clothes, or, again, cast into bronze charms or stamped on cakes or paper charms were images of the snake, centipede, scorpion, lizard, and toad (or sometimes the spider). See Bartholomew, *Myths and Rebuses in Chinese Art*, 17. One explanation of this custom the author cites seems ridiculous at first glance, namely that the Chinese believe in the theory of combating poisons with poisons, but it occurs to me that recent western experiments are based

on that very principle, for example, when using bee stings or rattlesnake venom for healing purposes. A second explanation regarding the potency of the Five Poisons, namely that if a creature survives the collective power of the five poisonous things put together in a single container, that survivor is used for magic potions and love charms, is given in Stepanchuk and Wong, *Mooncakes and Hungry Ghosts*, 48. It again seems to have originated from principles of immunology, though the conclusion carries superstitious overtones.

79. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 16.

80. On a recent visit, the author discovered the base of a stone boat on a tranquil pond and a pavilion restored on an artificial west hill, but the absence of both fruit trees and two hills between a restored stream were greater disappointments than the decision not to rebuild more of the simple buildings in the original Beautiful and Clear Village. A tablet at the restored site contains an engraved and historical sketch, including information that renovations lasted from 1985 to 1992.

81. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 138-39.

82. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 858-59, seventh day of the fifth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

83. Yang Boda, "The Development of the Ch'ien-lung Painting Academy," translation (Paper presented at conference, Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting, Metropolitan Museum of Art, May 20-22, 1985), 1-2; and Yang Boda, "*Qing Qianlong chaohuayuan yange*" (The successive changes of the Qing dynasty Qianlong [emperor's] Painting Academy), in his *Qingdai yuanhua* (The Qing dynasty Painting Academy) (Beijing: *Zijincheng chubanshe*, 1993), 36. Yang, in "The Development of the Ch'ien-lung Painting Academy," 1-[50] and *Qingdai yuanhua*, 36-57, utilized the hitherto unexplored archival source, *Yangxin Dian Zaobanchu gezuo chengzuo huoji Qing dang*養心殿造辦處個作成做 活計清檔 (Official Qing records of the activities of the bureau and workshops in the Board of Works in the Yangxin Dian, previously referred to as Qing archival records), to clarify the establishment, development, and achievement of the Qianlong emperor's Painting Academy Office (*Huayuan Chu*) and Hall of Fulfilled Wishes (*Ruyi Guan*). He likewise brings to light such practices of the Academy as methods of commission and payment, the assignment of painters to specific studios, and the close personal involvement of the emperor in many projects.

84. Yang, "The Development of the Ch'ien-lung Painting Academy," 7-8. There is no clear evidence for painting academies during the reigns of Qianlong's predecessors.

85. According to Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 20, the name derives from the Manchu word *muran* (to call deer) and refers to the Manchu

method of imitating the stag's call when hunting deer.

86. Ibid., 8-9. This arrangement of moving institutions with the emperor was retained by the Qianlong emperor's successors until 1860 when the Xianfeng 咸豐 emperor (r. 1850-1861) fled to Chengde before the Anglo-French forces set fire to the Garden of Perfect Brightness.

87. Yang, "The Development of the Ch'ien-lung Painting Academy," 9-10. Yang Boda's search of the Qing records has revealed the mistakes of Zhao Lian (1780-1833), the widely respected author of the history of the Qing dynasty and its supplement, entitled *Xiaoting xulu* regarding the Forbidden City's *Ruyi Guan*. See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 78-80.

88. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, *Ruyi Guan*, 2: 1352, no. 406, twenty-third day of the seventh Chinese month. See also Ibid., 2: 1530, no. 760, twenty-first day of the fifth Chinese month, thirty-ninth year of the Qianlong reign, which is after Castiglione's death. Therefore, the emperor ordered the Jesuit artist, Ignace Sichelbart (Ai Qimeng 艾啟蒙, 1708-1780) to execute his order. See also Kahn, "A Matter of Taste," 288-302, for a recent study on the Qianlong emperor's taste. Kahn traces the quantitative *grande geste* as a signature of his reign, for example, the emperor's famous "Ten Glorious Campaigns," graven on copper plate in France with the help of Jesuit court artists, notably Castiglione. They were the emperor's equivalent of the European equestrian statue because he could display the conquest engravings in many imperial halls, pavilions, and temples.

89. Yan, *Beijing: The Treasures of an Ancient Capital*, 190-91. Kahn, in "A Matter of Taste," 293, states that in all fairness, the Qianlong emperor, who was a monumentalist, characterized himself as a mere copyist, a laborer in the august halls of the Painting Academy. See his article for figures of the art holdings in the National Galleries in Taipei, which does not include items looted or deliberately destroyed in 1860 by Anglo-French troops at the Garden of Perfect Brightness and others. See also Yang Xin, "Court Painting in the Yongzheng and Qianlong Periods of the Qing dynasty with Reference to the Collection of the Palace Museum, Peking," in *Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting Under the Qianlong Emperor, 1735-1795*, edited by Ju-hsi Chou and Claudia Brown 288-302 (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1985), 352-57.

90. Claudia Brown, "Epilog: Approaches to Painting at the Qianlong Court," in *Elegant Brush* vol. 1, 166.

91. Kahn, "A Matter of Taste," 295.

92. Brown, "Epilog," 163-65, though no mention of looted objects from the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Reasons for European interest

included the presence of Qing academic works which had entered their collections in the aftermath of the Opium War and the looting of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, and the paucity of Song and Yuan paintings in Europe.

93. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 903-4, fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

94. Anne Birrell, *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 195.

95. Stein, *The World in Miniature*, 109-12.

96. V. R. Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post Publications, 1982), 63-64.

97. *Daily Life in the Forbidden City*, 234; Stepanchuk and Wong, *Mooncakes and Hungry Ghosts*, 53-55. An older and the best-known moon myth centers on a striped toad who was originally Yi the Archer's (*Hou Yi*) 后羿 trickster wife, Chang E 嫦娥 or Heng E 姮娥. Because she stole the elixir of immortality given her husband by the Queen Mother of the West (*Xiwang Mu*) for shooting down nine of the ten suns that threatened the very existence of living things, the earliest accounts of her in *Shanhai Jing* (8/5a-b), an ancient dictionary of unknown authorship dealing with geography, and *Huainan Zi* 淮南子, dating from between the third and second centuries, B.C. See also Birrell, *Chinese Mythology*, 144-45, 160, 176; and Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 36-37, which state she was metamorphosed into the toad on the moon, both of which denote immortality.

98. Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, 65.

99. Wolfram Eberhard, *Chinese Festivals* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1952), 98.

100. Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, 65. His companion performs on a lute whose sounding board is a cocunut shell. He also punctuates his music with an ivory clapper. No cymbals or gongs mar the quiet atmosphere of the festival. For a fine description of the festival as celebrated in a garden setting in Suzhou, see the 1597 account by a Ming dynasty eyewitness, Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568-1610), in *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writings from Imperial China*, trans. Richard E. Strassberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 303-7.

101. Yang Hongxun, *Zhongguo gudian zaoyuan yishu yanjiu* (A treatise on the gardens of Jiangnan: a study of the classical art of the landscape design in China) (Shanghai: *Shanghai renmin chubanshe*, 1994), 339-40; Guo Junlun, *Qingdai yuanlin tulu* (Illustrated compendium of Qing gardens.) (Shanghai: *Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe*, 1993), 77.

102. Native to China, this plant is called the Cotton or Confederate Rose in English, although it is a hibiscus, not a rose.

103. Guo, *Qingdai yuanlin tulu*, 77; ibid., 78 for illustration. Terese Tse Bartholomew, *The Hundred Flowers: Botanical Motifs in Chinese Art* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1985), [12], explains that because this type of hibiscus opens white in the morning and turns pink before fading in the evening, its other Chinese name is Intoxicated Hibiscus (*Zuijiu furong*).

104. In addition, He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 276, have discovered that in its heyday during the eighteenth century, two stone caves in the west hill sheltered one from the elements. To add realism to these water curtain caves (*shuilian dong*), water actually dripped from the openings.

105. Some accounts, like *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 10, say he honored the empress dowager with banquets at the above-mentioned swastika-shaped *Wanfan Anhe* or Region of International Peace. Sources would augment the usefulness of the work.

106. *Daily Life in the Forbidden City*, 181-83.

107. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 238.

108. Ibid., 519.

109. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 906, twenty-sixth day of the Leap Year ninth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign.

110. Ibid., 230.

111. *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing tuyong*, 41. Unpublished translation, John T. P. Siu. For the poems and paintings relevant to the Garden of Perfect Brightness proper, see also *Yuanming Yuan* 4 (1986): 103-83 (Chinese, simplified); and ibid., 5: 1-81 (Chinese, standard or seal).

112. Begun in 1773, it was presented to the throne in 1781, but revised in the ensuing two years and enlarged by another 100 chapters printed in 1786, according to Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 120-22. It employed 15,000 copyists who labored twelve years on the opus. R. Kent Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries: Scholars and the State in the Late Ch'ien-lung Era* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1987).

113. Wu Che-fu, "'Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu,' the Biggest Book in the World," in *Pearls in the Middle Kingdom: Selection of Articles from the National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*, trans. Andrew Morton. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1984), 110-15. The library was entirely destroyed by fire started by Anglo-French troops in 1860. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 238, state that the Kangxi emperor's magnificent 10,000 chapter *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (Completed collection of graphs and writings of ancient and modern times) was also destroyed.

114. The imperial ink cake was one in the collection made specifically with Korean designs and poems by the famous ink cake makers, the Wangs 汪 of Anhui province, at the Beijing court a few years after Qianlong, their patron, was crowned.

115. Hérisson, *Journal*, 321, 388. Unpublished translation, John T. P. Siu.

116. Hôte, "Letter from Peking," *Le Moniteur Universel* 16 (Janvier 16, 1861): 75.

117. Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 380.

118. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 169.

119. Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 380.

120. *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing tuyong*, 27. Unpublished translation, John T. P. Siu.

121. Charles G. Cousin-Montauban, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860: Souvenirs du gé né al Cousin-Montauban, comte de Palikao publié s par son petit-fils, le conte de Palikao* (Paris: Plon, 1932), 315. Unpublished translation, John T. P. Siu.

122. Many literati scholars engaged in this pastime, which implies leisurely traversing amid Nature. It implies an evocative experience, far deeper than a casual appreciation of a scenic venue, which enables an individual to convey an autobiographical expression of his reflections either in word (as literature) or in art (as a landscape painting and/or in garden form). While a modern person probably takes pictures to commemorate an experience, the traditional Chinese man first recorded it in note form or sketches and then reflected, and wrote about it or painted it. For a discussion on the long scholars' tradition of travel literature (utilizing the same term *you* 遊), see *Inscribed Landscapes*, 1-12.

123. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 908, sixteenth day of the tenth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign. The Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall (*Hanjing Tang*) is termed that as the *jing* refers to the Buddhist sutras, yet others call it the Purified Study (*Chunhua Xuan*).

Chapter Two

Qianlong's Garden of Everlasting Spring (*Changchun Yuan*)

The Garden of Everlasting Spring is, in essence, a relatively neglected three-dimensional landscape painting that the Qianlong emperor executed at the height of his creative powers. (Fig. 2.1) (This Garden should not be confused with Kangxi's Garden of Joyful Spring, whose name in Chinese is also *Changchun Yuan*.) Qianlong started out by designing the square-shaped Chinese sector of the annex to the Garden of Perfect Brightness (*Yuanming Yuan*) to express his interpretations of five outstanding Han Chinese scholars' gardens in the area south of the Yangtze River, called the Jiangnan region. He traversed this region during his six Southern Tours (*Nanxun*) undertaken as part of his official Confucian duties as emperor. The name he selected for this annex, Garden of Everlasting Spring, indicates that he originally intended it as a place to prepare for the afterlife, during his retirement. Even before he withdrew from imperial responsibilities, however, the records show that Qianlong used this garden as a retreat, in the Daoist sense of a place for release from daily Confucian regulations.[1] Its design facilitated scholarly activities that reflected the emperor's private concerns and enthusiasms. But he may well have envisioned the later addition, the European sector building (*Xiyang Lou*) which he positioned on the northernmost strip of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, to serve yet another dimension: as a venue for his family's leisure activities. From the time of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1279) these were considered legitimate social concerns for scholars in their private domains.[2] Finally, the emperor may also have

been making a political statement with the placement of the European sector.

The most striking cardinal element of the Garden of Everlasting Spring is the island nature of the square southern Chinese sector. What inspired Qianlong's unusual design is unrecorded, but imperial records and even scrolls document his repeated visits to and admiration of Yangzhou, with its Narrow West Lake (*Shouxi Hu*), and of Suzhou, correctly called the Venice of China. Xu Yinong's recent study of the development of Suzhou's urban form reveals that residents frequently travelled by boats on canals or rivers all over the city and its suburbs to places such as Tiger Hill, or crossed by foot some of the many bridges to reach shopping centers on the Grand Canal outside the northwest palace gate. Chinese poets such as Bai Juyi in the ninth century, and foreign visitors such as the Japanese Buddhist monk, Seijin, passing through to Shanxi in 1072, and the Venetian Marco Polo in the thirteenth century all remarked on the vast number of spans. The amazed Italian claimed there were 6,000 stone bridges, under which even two galleys abreast might pass. Five centuries later, William Alexander, an artist accompanying Lord Macartney's ambassadorial mission to the Qianlong emperor, recorded that the flourishing city of Suzhou reminded him of Canaletto's views of Venice.[3] (Color Plates 2.1 & 2.2)

Figure 2.1 Map of Everlasting Spring Garden *(Changchun Yuan)*. (Siu family collection).

The ruler's nautical excursions to its bustling emporia, as well as to landscape retreats, might well have inspired him to order not only a small marketplace created within his imperial quarters, but, more

important, an entire garden crisscrossed with broad waterways and lakes, some not spanned by bridges. Indeed, the 1756 (twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign) imperial records reveal that he used boats, not palanquins, as his main mode of transportation in the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[4] Such an extensive Chinese garden design primarily involving water transportation seems unprecedented.

The second major design element in the southern Chinese sector concerns the positioning of the major islands around the central island, on which stood the imperial residence. This arrangement is obviously not a casual spacing. It strongly mirrors a widely-shared worldview of traditional Chinese commoners since the unification of the country under the Qin Dynasty in 221 B.C. Along with major socio-political transformations, a profound change occurred in the nature and symbolism of China's various cities and regions. For example, Xu has shown that Suzhou, formerly the capital of the independent southeast state of Wu, became its regional capital under the centralized imperial government. Westerners familiar with the legal and political autonomy of medieval western European cities must then revise their thinking from considering Chinese cities as separate entities to the reality of their being instruments of the imperial government and integral parts of one world.[5] Furthermore, the positioning of the five Jiangnan-style gardens around the Qianlong emperor's domain on a central island indicates that it was the cosmic center.

Other skilled design elements utilized in his Chinese sector in the annex are certain forms and mathematical symbols. Qianlong selected a square shape and five gardens. Square shapes are associated with the River Plan, which allegedly emerged one day from the waters of the Yellow River. Recent research reveals that the plan, with its nine fields corresponding to the nine rooms of a religious temple, was a magic square.[6] Another major indication that the emperor regarded the Garden of Everlasting Spring as a place for his retirement and as a means to the afterlife was his positioning of the Daoist-inspired Immortals' Abode on Penglai Isle (*Pengdao Yaotai*) around the central isle. They and other spirit inhabitants would, no doubt, assist the chief resident on the central isle to drink from the invigorating Jade Fountain of Life (*Yuli Quan*).[7] The inclusion of a variety of other deities in magnificent temples in his Garden of Everlasting Spring are more obvious indications that the emperor utilized every religion, whether Han Chinese or non-Han, in his quest for longevity.

Furthermore, some Qing experts have raised the possibility of a political statement by the Qianlong emperor regarding the positioning of the European sector on the northernmost border. His choice either signified that he regarded the northern barbarians, or Europeans, as

his subjects,[8] or springs from mere exigency, specifically finding a proper setting for inserting their spouting fountains. The fact that the northern sector destroys the original intent of a square design of the Garden of Everlasting Spring as well as the later timing of most of the European sector's construction seem to point to the non-political explanation—that the European sector was an imperial afterthought. The earlier construction, however, of the Delights of Harmony Palace (*Xieqi Qu*) with its spouting fountains, located within the northwest corner of the Southern sector's square, might indicate the emperor ordered the inclusion of the European barbarians within his cosmos. Others argue that the venue's extensive southern waters are a barrier from the rest of the garden, rather than a link; a certain ambiguity prevails.

The significance of the configuration five is that it is one of the most important numbers in Chinese numerical mysticism. As an uneven number, it is a male number and associated with major symbols such as the Five Active Principles of Nature (*Wuxing*) from whose interaction proceed the five grains, atmospheric conditions, planets, metals, colors, and tastes.[9] In addition to this Daoist-inspired relationship for his five gardens, the emperor also referenced them to the five relationships between people, which are the basis of an orderly human society as articulated in the Confucian *Book of Rites*.[10] Since this number is such a cardinal symbol in two major Han Chinese traditions, Qianlong's restraint to only five Jiangnan-inspired gardens reveals his familiarity with numerical representation. His choices likewise reflected a ranking of the famed Chinese southern gardens, which he had ordered depicted during his Southern Tours. The Chinese and the European sectors of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, then, express the Qianlong emperor's depiction of himself, as seen symbolically at the center of the high and popular cultures (*wen*) of his peoples. The annex's gardens, inspired by the Jiangsu regional centers of Suzhou and Hangzhou, are positioned around the source to receive the higher imperial benevolence. In turn, they glorify the center as the epitome of Chinese culture. Furthermore, since the emperor intended the eastern annex for his retirement and afterlife, each venue augmented different Chinese and non-Chinese cultural and religious dimensions of longevity and/or the afterlife. Thus, man at the center reveals his complexity and other worldviews through his Garden of Everlasting Spring.

THE GARDEN OF EVERLASTING SPRING: AN ANNEX TO THE GARDEN

OF PERFECT BRIGHTNESS

The plan of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, drawn by the Chinese Architecture Society in 1933, shows the ensemble of its buildings amid lakes, canals, hills, rocks, and trees. It also shows that this Garden was about one-fourth as large as the Garden of Perfect Brightness, totaling about 164.7 acres.[11] The space had originally been a private garden called the Garden of Self-Enjoyment (*Ziyi Yuan*) of the famed academician, Mingzhu, early in the reign of the Kangxi emperor.[12]

The Qianlong emperor began altering this garden as a summer resort around 1745 (tenth year of the Qianlong reign)[13] finishing it in 1772,[14] after completing four of his six Southern Tours to the Jiangnan area, which is famed for its gardens. Constituting a sort of annex to the already formed main garden, which he could only embellish, it provided Qianlong with a new site for vistas inspired by these southern private gardens. Ultimately, however, his completed Garden of Everlasting Spring drew on two different sources for its two divisions: a very narrow northern part and the much larger southern part which consisted of a series of islands. While the southern Garden of Everlasting Spring was dotted with Chinese buildings set in traditional scenery inspired by those private gardens, the small northern sector was full of structures and scenes inspired both by Europe and China. Since the latter is the subject of several recent studies, the focus of this chapter is on the lesser-known, larger Chinese garden sector that Qianlong created.

An examination of historical and cultural records reveals that during his prime the emperor intended to utilize the Garden of Everlasting Spring solely for purposes other than recreation. As a young prince, Hongli, later the Qianlong emperor, had been allowed to live in the Garden of Perfect Brightness's Everlasting Spring Immortals Palace (*Changchun Xiangong*). The name of this site in the Garden of Perfect Brightness is linked to the term the emperor selected for the garden annex, Everlasting Spring. Here he had sought to achieve longevity by internalizing and making it his own, a common Han Chinese concept based on Daoist practices.[15] A later record of the eighty-five-year-old emperor again reveals he considered retiring to this Garden of Everlasting Spring demonstrating an even deeper belief he shared with his Chinese subjects: the hope for life after death. Contrary to popular perception, the Chinese are no exception to cultures that give much thought to this universal theme.[16] In fact, I believe these very themes of longevity and the afterworld motivated Qianlong to create the Garden of Everlasting Spring. He drew inspiration from studying the written and pictorial sources on garden

designs and auspicious sites that contained some major elite and popular expressions of the Chinese quest for longevity and an afterlife.

THE SOUTHERN CHINESE SECTOR

The southern Chinese sector can be read on several levels; it would be a mistake merely to view it as a manifestation of the Qianlong emperor's taste. The imperial records of the Southern Tours and the recently published Imperial Household Department (*Neiwu Fu*) data on the entire Garden of Perfect Brightness reveal that the southern Garden of Everlasting Spring literally took form from the emperor's gradual familiarization with the products of the mid-Ming gentlemanly culture of the Jiangnan area, made possible by the burgeoning salt economy there.[17] Mid-Ming Jiangnan artifacts, especially paintings and descriptions of scholars' gardens, together with the actual gardens, perdured as a creative expression of the Ming Jiangnan Chinese gentry's superior, but assailable, culture. My contention is that these Southern Tours to the Jiangnan gardens not only contributed a new facet to the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors' complex cultural identity, but also provoked the latter to want to popularize and commodify these gardens in order to usurp the gentry's superior cultural position and to place them firmly within the imperial aegis. Moreover, Qianlong integrated popular culture into his Garden of Everlasting Spring without seeking to commodify it or make it a public place. Obviously, one of the wealthiest men in the world hardly needed to commercialize his gardens by selling their produce. The reasons the emperor chose to maintain this Everlasting Spring annex as a private place prove more complex.

The 1756 Clothing Records reveal the emperor visited various sites[18] in the Garden of Everlasting Spring no fewer than sixty-one times, starting from the Lantern Festival (*Deng Jie*) on the fifteenth day of the first Chinese month and continuing through winter entertainments on the thirteenth day of the eleventh Chinese month. Often the pattern of his day mirrors that of Chinese scholar officials: an evening sortie for in-motion viewing (*youxing*) or meditation in a temple after a full day's work.[19] In other words, Qianlong first performed his Confucian duties administering affairs, then sought release through Daoist experiences of nature or Buddhist private devotions in his garden annex.

The southern Chinese sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring revolved around four design elements: the center or heart of his garden was intended for retirement; five gardens, inspired by the Jiangnan gardens, in the adjoining sectors related to Daoist or

Confucian themes; and temples and pagodas for meditation.

THE HEART OF THE GARDEN OF EVERLASTING SPRING

This designation refers to the centrally-located island amid a landscaped setting. On it, the emperor placed the imperial residences and three important buildings on a north-south axis. Measuring seventeen acres,[20] it is called both the Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall (*Hanjing Tang*) and the Purified Study (*Chunhua Xuan*). (Fig. 2.2)

Though its basic construction was finished in 1747, Qianlong renovated and greatly expanded it in 1770.[21] A sketch in the 1984 *Yuanmingyuan Occasional Papers* based on several sources reveals its design.[22]

Various visual and written materials reveal the purposes and proportions of the vast central complex. The Gathered Truths Studio (*Yunzhen Zhai*), alone consisted of about 230 rooms. Its winding corridors, containing 160 arches, rivaled the still-extant Long Corridor (*Chang Lang*) (Color Plates 2.3 & 2.4) in the garden, now popularly known as the Summer Palace. In addition, thirty more rooms served as warehouses, teahouses, greenhouses, and offices reserved for those on duty. This whole set of buildings, modeled after the sleeping quarters of the imperial inner court in the Forbidden City (*Zijincheng*), formed the imperial apartments of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[23]

Almost all the buildings on the entire central island were enclosed by walls decorated with the auspicious 10,000 symbol. The varied structures, totaling 480 rooms or bays, occupied an astounding 84,500 square feet.[24] For diversion, the extensive imperial family could step outside the garden's east wall to a long Shopping Street (*Maimai Jie*), which extended the area's entire north-south length and was open only during a three-day fair in the first lunar month. Near it, but within the enclosure, was a theater for opera performances that were patronized by Qianlong and other Qing rulers. A library housed his rare volumes, including a copy of the *Four Treasuries*. The Victory Canopy (*Desheng Gai*) was a three-room edifice on the north-south axis outside the north wall that commemorated Qianlong's conquest of the Xinjiang in 1759.[25]

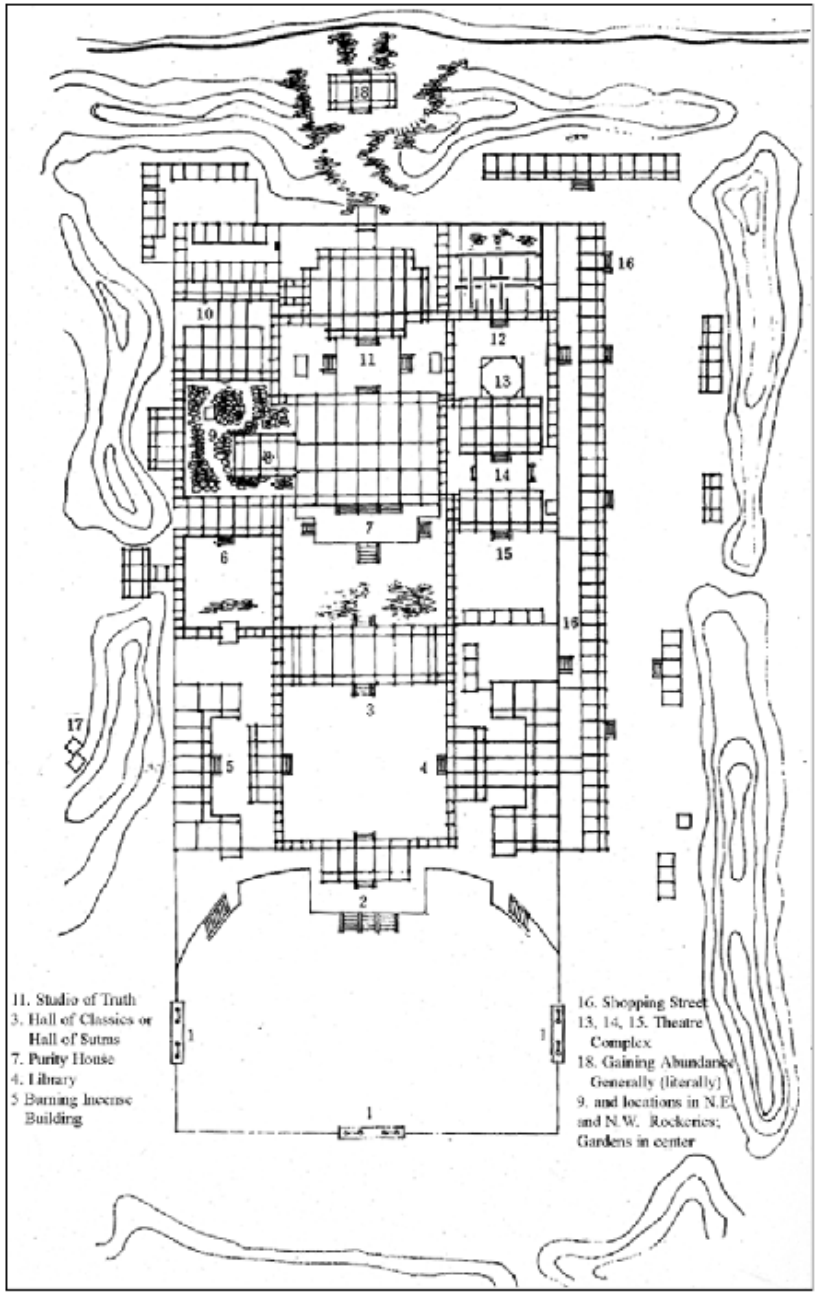

11. Studio of Truth
3. Hall of Classics or Hall of Sutras
7. Purity House
4. Library
5 Burning Incense Building
16. Shopping Street
13, 14, 15. Theatre Complex
18. Gaining Abundance Generally (literally)
9. and locations in N.E. and N.W. Rockeries; Gardens in center

Figure 2.2 Sketch of Imperial Residences on central isle, heart of Everlasting Spring Garden *(Changchun Yuan)*. (Siu family collection).

Once Qianlong had fulfilled his official imperial Confucian duties in the main garden, the emperor often went to the centrally-located Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall in the Garden of Everlasting Spring. There he performed Buddhist rituals at the altars, before which were placed prized, bronze cranes, tripods (*ding*), and other

embellishments. For example, in 1754, he ordered the Enamel Department (*Falang Zuo*) to copy two pairs of Western-style lotus (*he*) or water lily-shaped enamel hanging lamps for this magnificent seven-bay, double-eaved, glazed tile (*liuli*) structure, which gleamed in the sunlight.[26] A corridor connected this structure to the other major building, the Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall, directly to its north. After housing his most precious purity sutra there, the emperor ordered 400 copies of it made for distribution to imperial princes, his grandchildren, high ranking officials, scholars charged with studies, and provincial administrators. He considered this venue, associated with religious rituals and study, an ideal retirement place.[27]

The emperor's other prized possessions on this central isle indicate that he perceived himself to be like other scholar officials dwelling in their Chinese gardens. He treasured old paintings, which he viewed in the Burning Incense Building (*Fenxiang Lou*) on the east, immediately inside the main palace gate. Among his natural treasures were precious spirit rocks (*taihu*)[28] set amid two major rockeries placed in the northeast and the northwest. He particularly prized an outstanding six-and-a-half-foot stone resembling a fierce tiger. The area in the center of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, considered the annex's crowning site, contained rare flowers nurtured in the greenhouses, and a variety of trees selected for their beauty in the four seasons.[29]

Illustrations of the Chinese sector, ordered made by the emperor, are difficult to find. Among the items lost during the 1860 looting and burning were the only painting by court artists with a panoramic view of the entire garden,[30] and a painting by Giuseppe Castiglione, the Jesuit court artist, of a complete scene of what lay behind the Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall.[31] In 1759 (twenty-third year of the Qianlong reign), the emperor ordered Castiglione to paint an overall view of the venue's surrounding corridor.[32] Such records of art projects confirm the pride of place this venue, in the heart of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, held for the emperor.

Five depictions on ink cakes[33] of sections of this major area survived, two more finely carved than the others. These imperial ink cakes were made in Beijing by the Wang family of Anhui province, initially under Qianlong's patronage in the early years of his reign. All the depictions on the imperial ink cakes are of palace origin.

The first, obelisk-shaped illustration centers round a pavilion framed by trees with a mountain background in the imperial residence region, near the Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall in the Garden of Everlasting Spring. Stacks of books crammed in the rooms indicate that they were repositories for classical works, a fact corresponding to data about a library housing precious books. The depicted pavilion might also be one of the buildings in the Gathered

Truths Studio, which is shown on a second, octagonal-shaped, imperial ink cake commissioned by the emperor. The man with a brush at his desk in the studio might well depict Qianlong, pausing to contemplate the setting of nearby rocks and waters and more distant trees atop hills as in the Garden of Perfect Brightness.

A third imperial inkstick, by the same family made during the reign of the Jiaqing Emperor (r. 1796-1820), is of the Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall, with its dependent pavilions and is illustrated with an intricate border framing interesting architectural elements on different levels, set in front of a pile of massive strange rocks. Many lotuses flourished in a nearby pond to the west of the imperial apartments, appropriately enough, as this region contains major Buddhist temples.

One of two more finely carved round inksticks, part of the imperial collection made by the Wangs, depicts the Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall in the central part of the imperial apartment region of the southern Garden of Everlasting Spring. No doubt, the view of the studio in a garden setting on the ink cake was a copy of the Qianlong emperor's original illustration by court artists. The long imperial inscriptions on the round inkstick, explains the origin of the studio. Summarized it reads:

> The stones on which were inscribed the edicts of the first emperor of the Song dynasty [eleventh century], the most complete set of old stones in Chinese history of carved inscriptions, are now in ruins and dispersed condition. Therefore, I [Qianlong] ordered competent workers to carve a new complete set of stones after the copies available from the old stone inscriptions. The great work having been achieved, I ordered the architects to build a special hall to house this very important complete set of carved stones for their protection in the imperial apartment region, behind the Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall and near the Gathered Truths Studio in the Garden of Everlasting Spring. This new hall has many galleries, in the walls, of which are put the numerous carved stones, and the whole place is named Purity Study (*Qingke Xuan*).

The Snow Flurries Hall (*Kuaixue Tang*), apparently also in the imperial apartment region of the southern Garden of Everlasting Spring, is finely depicted on another round ink cake made by the same Wangs during the Qianlong era. The wall of the site was near the Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall.[34] According to the imperial inscriptions on the inkstick's reverse side, this elaborate hall was also built to house a new set of carved stones made after another set of imperial inscriptions of the Song dynasty. In support of this depiction and inscription, a newly available study of the Garden of Perfect Brightness and Garden of Everlasting Spring specifies that the central island had an extensive storage space for housing the carved engravings (*tongban*).[35] Given its precious nature, the name the

emperor selected, snow flurries, raises the question of why it was chosen. The term may well allude to a poem by the greatest of Chinese calligraphers, Wang Xizhi (312-79), which contains the same phrase.[36]

A review of both written and visual materials of the imperial apartments region might lead to the conclusion that it served a public function as did parts of the main garden. One reason is that a pair of large, white, jade lions, reminiscent of a set at the Forbidden City, guarded the entrance to an imposing courtyard flanked by commemorative arches to the south, east, and west. Though a recent undocumented account identifies this front square and the Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall as reception areas for Qianlong to receive foreign envoys and chieftains of ethnic groups,[37] both the imperial records and the absence of large banquet halls in the heart of the Garden of Everlasting Spring's living quarters contradict such an account. Other garden designs for this annex strengthen the argument that the southern garden constituted a private rather than a public space.

FIVE GARDENS INSPIRED BY JIANGNAN CHINESE GARDENS

It is true that the Garden of Perfect Brightness featured several areas directly inspired by southern gardens, which the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors both visited during their Six Southern Tours. Except for a concentrated variety of Jiangnan-inspired gardens in a single locus near the main garden, Qianlong's Garden of Everlasting Spring had no peer. The five Chinese gardens in it are the fruit of his reflections on important Daoist and Confucian ideas after engaging in the scholar's pastime of in-motion viewing of notable garden retreats.

THE LITERARY GARDEN LION GROVE (*WENYUAN SHIZI LIN*)

In the extreme northeast, just south of the Rectangular Lake (*Fang Hu*) of the European sector and east of the Seven-arched Floodgate/Sluice (*Qigong Zha*) the emperor placed the Literary Garden Lion Grove. He probably began building it around the thirtieth year of his reign[38] after his Southern Tour of 1762, which included a visit to the Suzhou garden with the same name.[39] He continued revising his version after

studying the Suzhou model again during his Southern Tour of 1765,[40] however, and only completed his creation in 1772.[41] (Fig. 2.3)

A problem which he faced in the eighteenth century was how to recapture the original spirit and design of the fourteenth-century Lion Grove (*Shizi Lin*) which subsequently had been severely altered. He compared extant materials of the existing garden (including sketches and written accounts of reconstructions based on eyewitness accounts) with those of the original garden. (Fig. 2.4). But such a method yielded scanty and sometimes contradictory data on design elements. For example, though its profuse rockery impressed everyone, confusion existed as to the location and size of the architectural elements amid them. Like others, the emperor had perforce to immerse himself in studying sources in his attempt to capture the spirit of the late Yuan Suzhou garden. Originally, it was intended as a Chan Buddhist hermitage with a northern garden.[42] Much earlier, Ni Zan (1301-1374) was so impressed with it that he was inspired to create a garden in Wuxi modeled after the original; he named his place Hometown Mountain Resort (*Guxiang Shanzhuang*). His scholar's garden proved to be the stepping stone to his later painterly depiction of the Suzhou Lion Grove at the beginning of the Ming (1368-1644).[43]

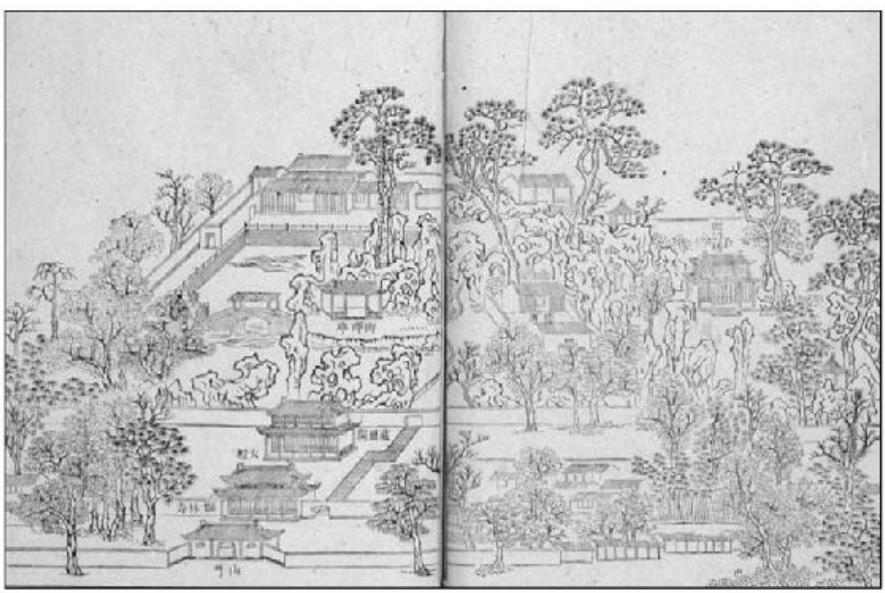


Figure 2.3 Woodcut of Lion Grove *(Shizi Lin)*, Suzhou, from *Nanxun Shengdian*. 1771. (Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Room).

Regarding the specifics of Qianlong's creation process, by 1747 he had already gained an appreciation of the magnificent fourteenth-century painting, *Shizi Lin*, by Ni Zan, one of the Four Yuan Masters. The four large characters in the emperor's hand, followed by an imperial poem on each of the inspiring scenes, all inscribed by the

emperor, attest his admiration. The emperor visited the Suzhou garden for the first time in 1756.[44] Before a decade elapsed, he launched into the complex creation of a similarly-spirited Lion Grove in the Garden of Everlasting Spring.

Qianlong had to first determine what Ni Zan captured of the original Lion Grove. The artist leads the viewer into this famous rock garden through a simple gate bordered by dense bamboo. From here, the eye distinguishes the different species of trees in the garden, each sparingly drawn with exquisite strokes, until it comes upon a cluster of simple buildings, which separate the outer from the inner garden. In the latter section beyond these buildings, the intensity of line increases dramatically in a presentation of rockery towering upward toward the final element in the painting: a small pavilion set off against a background of trees.[45]

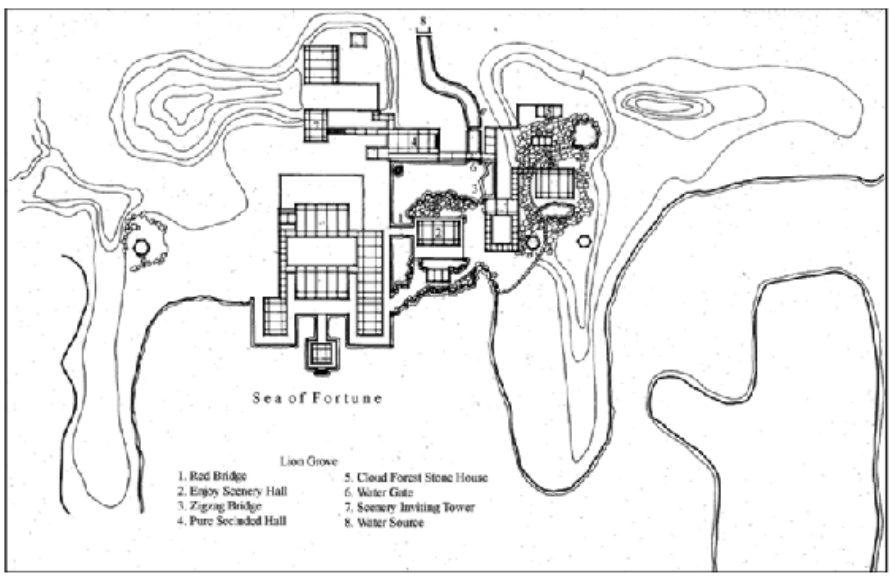


Figure 2.4 Map of Garden of Everlasting Spring, Lion Grove. (Siu family collection).

When the emperor viewed the Suzhou Lion Grove for the first time during his second Southern Tour in 1756, it was only a faded replica of the original Yuan garden in its heyday. The buildings and grounds were in disarray, yet the rockery and lighting so pleased him that he let it be known that the Lion Grove should be completely restored in time for the next imperial inspection. The records of the Southern Tours reveal that after his 1762 visit, the Suzhou Lion Grove's restoration had progressed to the point that Qianlong directed court artists to sketch it. The next year he, like Ni Zan, attempted a Lion Grove-inspired scholar's garden in his Garden of Everlasting Spring. The sketch, of course, aided its design.

By the emperor's second visit to Suzhou during his third Southern

Tour in 1765, his Lion Grove had only progressed to the stage where one could discern its pattern. Many say this second experience moved him, not, like Ni Zan, to depict it in a landscape, but to reproduce it as a slightly larger Lion Grove garden, this time at the Imperial Mountain Resort for Escaping the Heat (*Bishu shanzhuang*) at Chengde.[46] In the winter of 1774 he decreed this second one, known as the Literary Garden Lion Grove, be constructed. In the same period, the emperor had continued augmenting the Garden of Everlasting Spring's secluded Lion Grove until it reached its final form in 1772. The emperor's second Lion Grove, then, merely mirrored his deep felt inspiration. It resulted in an additional three-dimensional depiction, without implying any dissatisfaction with the original version.

The Lion Grove at Chengde totaled about 80,000 square feet, about one and one-half times larger than the earlier garden, which was about 53,000 square feet. Even a casual comparison of the emperor's two versions of the Lion Grove reveals a major difference in the placement of the largest body of water surrounding a single island structure set amid rocks. While the Garden of Everlasting Spring version follows the Suzhou model of a series of three-entrance buildings on the western north-south axis, which, in turn, access a spacious vegetation and rock-filled courtyard that suddenly reveals an islet and water to its east, the Chengde garden eliminates the initial formal structures and the courtyard scene on the garden's west. These changes enable an immediate encounter with the rocky isle amid the water. In both models, an ingenious system of locks, complex sluices, canals, and a dam guaranteed an adequate water supply and an even level for garden pools or flowing streams. The water originated in the northeast from a single sluice, set on the highest level.[47] A photograph of some arches over the canal ruins in the Lion Grove of the Garden of Everlasting Spring shows the restored water lock and water gate on their original sites and the dilapidated Rainbow Bridge over the canal/stream, a part of the intricate Garden of Perfect Brightness water system developed by the early Qing emperors.[48] (Color Plate 2.5)

Recent data and a section of a Qing painting of the Chengde Lion Grove, now in The Palace Museum, Beijing, convey the overwhelming power of the rocks in the Suzhou Lion Grove. (Color Plate 2.6) The name of the garden may indeed derive from this great rockery whose shapes in silhouette resemble crouching, rearing, pouncing, and resting lions. Lions are not indigenous to China proper, as attested by the absence of any representations of them in archaeological digs. As early as the Han dynasty (second century B.C.), however, the western explorations of Zhang Qian and subsequent military activities brought to China many animals not previously known to the Chinese. Indeed, during the imperial hunt, the court watched strong, unarmed men

grappling with lions, leopards, rhinoceroses, and elephants.[49] When Buddhism came to China, lion depictions commenced, for in the Buddhist sutras, the Buddha likened the law to a roaring lion, and his seat is known as the lion seat to indicate his great power. In the Lion Grove, stones resembling lions crouched around the garden's pond and tower on the stone hill near a pavilion. These, and variously shaped stones in every area, demonstrate that lions constitute a major theme of the Lion Grove.[50]

These lion rocks in the Garden of Everlasting Spring also seem to have had Confucian and Tibetan Buddhist dimensions for Qianlong. The lion is the animal that Manjusri (*Wenshu Pusa*), the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, rides and the Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty claimed legitimacy as his reincarnations. In a real sense, then, Manjusri was their ancestor to whom worship was due. Honoring parents and one's ancestors are hallmarks of the hierarchical Confucian society the Manchus elected to maintain. But underlying that filial and pious sentiment of ancestor worship is this more compelling reason: failure to fulfill obligations to the departed spirits could result in malevolent retributions whereas fulfilling them led to powerful blessings. Material evidence unearthed by archaeologists, as well as funerary rituals explored by students of Chinese religion, support the conclusion that life after death and belief in the existence of the spirits of the dead have been integral to the very composition of the hierarchical Chinese society.[51] It was therefore imperative that the Qianlong emperor suitably venerate the Qing ancestor, Manjusri. One way was by creating the rock-filled Lion Grove in his Garden of Everlasting Spring, where he hoped to retire. There he could hope for the benevolent assistance of Manjusri, astride the Buddhist Lion, to ward off malevolent spirits.

All the specialists who have studied the emperor's Lion Grove in the Garden of Everlasting Spring concur on one design detail: that from its western section, one crossed the major artificial lake by a rainbow bridge (*hongqiao*) to reach the centrally located three-room Prospect Hall (*Najing Tang*) set amid rocks and bordered on two sides by this lake.[52] The red bridge enabled the emperor to cross the stream bringing the water source to the Garden of Everlasting Spring via the northern Rectangular Lake in the European sector. In addition, the central pool in front of the Extended (or Raised) Prospect Building (*Yanjing Lou*) was stocked with goldfish, attesting to Qianlong's dedication to this Confucian-inspired custom signifying care of one's family or, in the case of the emperor, his subjects. Moreover, two edifices, the Cloud Forest Stone House (*Yunlin Shishi*)[53] and the Pure Secluded Pavilion (*Qingbi Ge*), bore similar names to buildings in Ni Zan's garden.

The scenic eastern section of this Lion Grove featured tall pines leaning against rocky slopes ending in cliffs, while bamboo groves flourished along quiet streams. In addition, pots of cymbidiums, amid strange rocks, continued the theme of nature amid rocks. Yellow flowers grew in flowerbeds, while in between buildings came the fragrance of osmanthus. This venue was important for the autumnal season. The imperial records indicate that Qianlong carefully supervised the construction of his Lion Grove and enjoyed the finished garden between his Southern Tours.[54] He also articulated his notions of what a garden is by repeatedly composing poems on the theme Sixteen Scenes in the Lion Grove and ordering them inscribed on tablets.[55]

Most scholars' assessments of the small, about 2.47 acres, Lion Grove in the Garden of Everlasting Spring are positive regarding garden design, though they disagree about its overall place in garden history. Most laud the arrangement of the buildings, one of which even juts out into the main waterway. They also appreciate the natural elements on the southern border of the water's edge, because their shadows greatly augmented the landscape of the Garden of Everlasting Spring's northeast sector. Another superior view they single out is a panoramic vista from a pair of hexagonal pavilions set high amid the dense elaborate eastern rockeries. This allowed appreciating the few architectural elements in front of the extensive hill system in the Lion Grove's northwestern sector, which separated it from the northernmost European sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[56] Evaluations of the Qianlong Lion Grove, however, range from stating that he captured Ni Zan's spirit and contributed to garden history,[57] to criticisms that all seem overly centered around rocks.[58]

Though these Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars facilitate our understanding of the architectural and garden elements in the Garden of Everlasting Spring's Lion Grove, they make no reference to possible motivations for the Qianlong emperor's creation of the rock-filled counterpart. I believe the emperor was expressing his personal experiences of the Suzhou Lion Grove and evocative landscapes of it, as well as honoring his lion-riding ancestor, Manjusri.

THE GARDEN OF LUXURIOUS GROWTH (*QIAN YUAN*)

In the southwest region of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, the Qianlong emperor placed a Garden of Luxurious Growth. (Fig. 2.5) Two meanings of the *qian* term relate to this garden's characteristics:

one signifies the madder plant along with the crimson dye derived from it; the second refers to luxurious growth. Alizarin reds blaze throughout the emperor's southern-inspired garden, but more noteworthy is the abundance of a wide variety of greenery, including water plants. Since the Qianlong emperor had drawn inspiration from Hangzhou's [State of] Wu's Model for a Waterside Garden (*Wudian An*),[59] precious rocks from that region bordered the Garden of Luxurious Growth's central bay, and a large school of goldfish filled the courtyard pond.[60]

Scholars of the Garden of Perfect Brightness concur that the Garden of Luxurious Growth is well-integrated and designed in the condensed style. Eight scenes originally celebrated Qianlong's success at completing this difficult enterprise. Garden experts laud the highly original way that its creator integrated its architecture with the hills, water, shores and even empty spaces. They were spaced in three distinct, but mutually complementary sections of its 1.15-1.3 acres.[61] At first glance, the central bay seemingly separated the western architectural elements from the eastern hills.

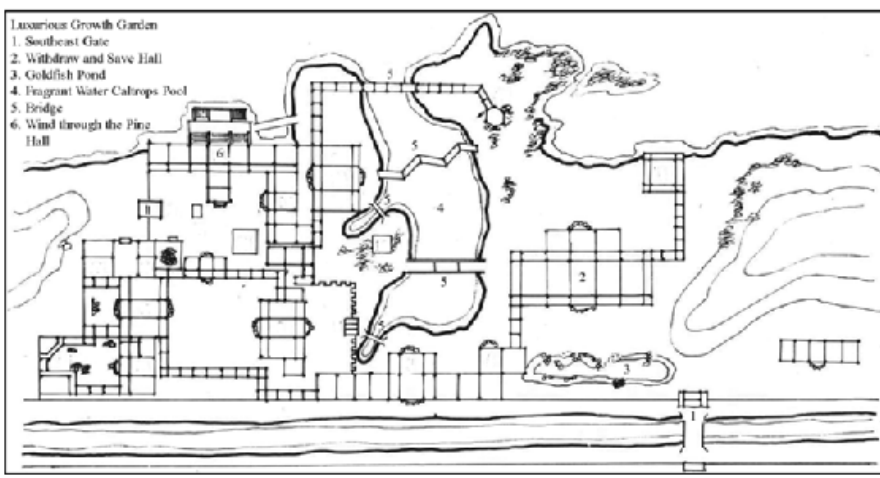


Figure 2.5 Map of Luxurious Growth Garden *(Qian Yuan)*. (Siu family collection).

Although the main entrance by land to the Garden of Luxurious Growth was through a western gate, it involved traversing the hills marking off the garden. Whenever weather permitted, a more pleasant direct route by launch was followed along the main Long or Silver River linking this garden with the entire southern Chinese sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring. The 1756 Garden of Perfect Brightness Clothing Records note that on the sixteenth and eighteenth days of the fourth Chinese month, Qianlong sailed to the Garden of Luxurious Growth. He docked at the northwest stone pier and ascended the steps of the Wind through the Pines Pavilion (*Songfeng*

Ge), a major rectangular seven-room building with an extensive southern courtyard in the western sector.[62]

In the eighteenth century, the venue was likely associated with Daoist rituals because of its deliberately-selected luxurious natural elements. The sixteenth day of the fourth Chinese month was a ritual day for the emperor, who spent the whole day offering Buddhist rituals at some Garden of Perfect Brightness temples and unspecified sites within the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[63] Then on the seventeenth day, he received a Tibetan lama and performed memorial services for his revered ancestor, Empress Xiaoduan, consort of his Manchu predecessor, Hung Taiji (r. 1627-1643).[64] Finally, on the eighteenth day, Qianlong greeted imperial groups (*huanghui*) at the Wind through the Pines Pavilion of the Garden of Luxurious Growth after performing religious rituals at another site.[65] These sources indicate the days around mid-May were especially crowded with rites, several at the Garden of Luxurious Growth. Those familiar with Daoist concepts of fecundity and Buddhist ideas of completeness know they both contribute to Chinese notions of longevity and paradise. The emperor seems to have associated this garden sector with facilitating such a quest.

What the emperor especially enjoyed viewing was a precious Southern Song stone from Hangzhou's Virtue and Longevity Palace (*Deshou Gong*). It was housed in a small building within the extensive courtyard complex of the same Wind through the Pines Pavilion. Originally named Hibiscus Stone (*Furong Shi*), the emperor renamed it Green Lotus or Water Lily Flower (*Qinglian Duo*) shortly after he first caressed it on one of his Southern Tours. Time, however, deprived him of experiencing the total Southern Song stone scene, shaded by a mossy old plum tree (*taimei*). By Ming times, the tree had already died, so garden aficionados immortalized the stone-tree scene on a carved tablet beside the rock. In the Qing dynasty, an imperial carriage transported the Hangzhou stone to Beijing soon after the imperial visit. Qianlong, however, ordered a new etching of the scene for an adjoining pavilion.[66]

The chief scenic element in the center of the Garden of Luxurious Growth was the north-south river bay, named Fragrant Water Caltrops Pool (*Lingxiang Pan*), which nearly bisected the garden. The name echoes the area's abundant water vegetation. Its designer solved the problem of integrating the zigzag shores by spanning the waters with five unique bridges. From north to south, the three longer east-west designs were respectively a covered corridor terminating in an eastern six-sided pavilion perched on a hill, a zigzag bridge, and a three-arched level stone span with a vermillion wooden railing, a detail of the crimson theme.[67] Beautiful pointed stones punctuated the bay's

depths, while river rocks lined its irregular shores, which gave on to interlocking artificial mountains in the east section.

The garden's designers hardly exhausted their repertoire of rock styles and vegetation in these central and eastern sectors; other distinctive precious rockeries and stones graced each of the western sector's four courtyards. For example, from the southwest corner's open pavilion on a high platform, the emperor descended through a corridor eastward on variously leveled piled rocks. Or traveling northward from this prominence, he came upon the courtyard's semicircular flower-viewing platform in the northwest corner, from which he could descend via three uneven stone steps to emerge through a painted screen gate to a smaller courtyard.[68] This space seemed to serve as a display area for a full seasonal repertoire of the finest specimens of the country's abundant water vegetation in bonsai container gardens.

A goldfish pond to this bay's southeast carried the water and vegetation theme even farther. The emperor reached it via a three-arched bridge strung with brocade-covered wire lanterns. The goldfish were actually elaborately ruffled thousand-tailed carp. To augment the major theme of the Garden of Luxurious Growth's abundance, the northernmost sector featured vegetation bordering the water that was designed to be viewed from shore or from boats rather than from the few strategically-placed pavilions. Returning through the Garden of Luxurious Growth's southeast entrance, the solitary building directly to the goldfish pond's north, named Withdraw and Save Studio (*Tuixing Zhai*), was connected by a long, covered corridor that turned a corner to access a square-shaped northern pavilion overlooking the main waters of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.

A final outstanding feature of the Garden of Luxurious Growth was, of course, its culture of water plants. Among the profusion of specific aquatic plants selected for the Fragrant Water Caltrops Pool and its shores, as well as for the hills and plains, were lotuses, rice, and wild rice, and cultivated bonsai, which were displayed within the buildings in the western sector.[69] The rice motif of bonsai is not surprising when one understands that the emperor was charged with ensuring abundant crops, as agriculture was the main occupation of his Han people.[70] Other flowers and trees enhancing the water venue included arrowroot, Alpine leek, water chestnuts, sweet flag, and willows, gingko (*shanxing/yinxing*), maple (*feng*), and hibiscus (*furong*). Winter offered the constant beauty of the white, lace-barked pine, spruce, cypress, Chinese juniper (*cibai*), and food-wrapper plant, a hardwood used for making chessboards.[71]

In all, this no longer extant Garden of Luxurious Growth remains, at least in memory, an outstanding example of a successfully

integrated southern-style Chinese scholar's garden carrying out the theme of luxurious growth. It is reminiscent of the Master of the Net Garden (*Wangshi Yuan*) in Suzhou, as both gardens, though small, contained varied and unique garden elements without appearing crowded and contrived. More important, the Garden of Luxurious Growth's near superabundance of plant varieties reminded Qianlong of the Daoist hermits' assiduous quest for the Plant of Longevity or the Sacred Fungus (*Lingzhi Cao*). The fungus is often depicted in gilded wood or in paintings of Laozi, the reputed founder of Daoism and one of the three immortals, as well as in paintings of the Immortals. In some paintings it is carried in the mouths of deer.[72] The Qianlong emperor's sector with abundant aquatic vegetation, then, speaks of his search for immortality in the Garden of Everlasting Spring.

THE GARDEN OF A LITTLE BIT OF HEAVEN OR THE GARDEN OF A SMALL PARADISE *(XIAOYOUTIAN YUAN)*

On the northeast of an island named Eternal Thought Studio (*Siyong Zhai*) was the Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven. The Qianlong emperor placed it immediately to the southwest of the centrally-located heart of the Garden of Everlasting Spring and north of the Garden of Luxurious Growth. (Fig. 2.6) According to imperial records, the emperor learned about this type garden, from a Wang family garden, also named a Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven, in Hangzhou, from viewing a scroll painting of it while on his first Southern Tour in 1751. So much did he enjoy it that five years later, when he returned to the capital from another tour, the emperor ordered a similar garden begun in his Garden of Everlasting Spring.[73] Parts of it must have been completed by the Ghost Festival in 1756 (fifteenth day of the seventh Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign) because imperial records reveal that he chose to change his attire at the Eternal Thought Studio after offering Buddhist rituals at the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[74] His purpose for doing so on this festival for all departed spirits has to do with the original garden's purpose, namely, to honor the creator's deceased parents. The emperor probably continued perfecting his own venue, given the fact he ordered the Jiangnan model depicted by court artists during his fourth Southern Tour in 1765.

Qing imperial records of this garden, cited by Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars, help us understand what distinguished this

Hangzhou garden.[75] Qianlong declared that nothing surpassed the Wang family's Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven.

Upon returning to Beijing, he was able to recall his evocative experience of the garden by contemplating his court artists' depiction. His memories were expressed in a garden, condensing everything into the diminutive venue of the Eternal Thought Studio. He ordered an artisan family to pile stones into hill peaks and channel water for a muted waterfall that would not disturb a recluse living nearby.[76]

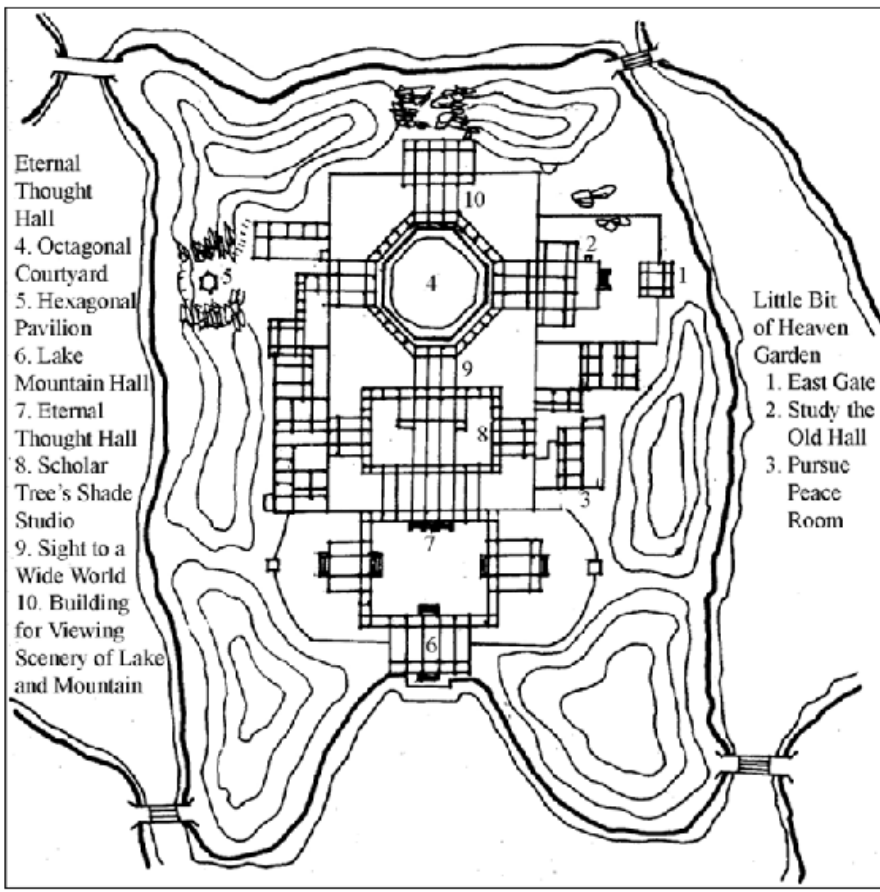

Eternal Thought Hall
4. Octagonal Courtyard
5. Hexagonal Pavilion
6. Lake Mountain Hall
7. Eternal Thought Hall
8. Scholar Tree's Shade Studio
9. Sight to a Wide World
10. Building for Viewing Scenery of Lake and Mountain
Little Bit of Heaven Garden
1. East Gate
2. Study the Old Hall
3. Pursue Peace Room

Figure 2.6 Map of Little Bit of Heaven Garden *(Xiao You Tian Yuan)* on Eternal Thought Studio *(Siyong Zhai)*. (Siu family collection).

From the imperial records of the Southern Tour to Hangzhou comes information that the term Pure Kindness used to describe this garden refers to the Pure Kindness Temple (*Jingci Si*) on the hilly west side of the Hangzhou model. The temple probably belonged to Buddhism's Pure Land Sect, since the word Pure generally refers to it. The southern screen in the imperial records refers to the one at the southern entrance to the garden, which lay in a ravine. The garden's Confucian-inspired rationale was symbolized by an exquisite hut,

simply named Ravine Hut (*He An*), which was the Wang family's dwelling beside their deceased parents' graves. Its name alludes both to its humble nature and to its auspicious location beneath a shrine to the Amitabha Buddha where it could gather his powerful influence.

Other garden structures within the original Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven hint to it as a scholar's heaven. Hollowed-out wooden bridges with bamboo railings spanned the clear waters girdling the nearly circular rocky garden that slanted up and northward from the ravine. Abundant trees, a grove of arrow bamboo, and a bed of hibiscus graced a pool's shore at the base. Climbing past the memorial hut set amid strange stones one reached a hidden cave dwelling, a major Daoist-inspired paradise element. The emperor appreciated Confucian culture amalgamated with Daoist ideas at this cave, as the Honorable Sima Guang's tablet marked its entrance. Near it hung the art of the Song worthy Mi Fei's calligraphy on the Zither Platform Word (*Qintai Zi*). On a still higher level, one came upon a solitary mountain pavilion facing south, not far from the magnificent central waterfall. Ascending yet farther by connected continuous paths, one discovered increasingly strange rocks. The high elevations permitted more distant views such as the lake to the right and the river to the left. The Southern Tours sources reveal that after the Qianlong emperor's first Southern Tour in 1751 (sixteenth year of the Qianlong reign), he ordered the Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven inspired by the Hangzhou original to grace the eastern part of the Garden of Everlasting Spring's Eternal Thought Studio.[77]

These sources on the Hangzhou model justify the Garden of Perfect Brightness experts' positive assessment of the Garden of Everlasting Spring's Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven. They pronounce this smallest of the five Jiangsu-influenced landscapes in the Garden of Everlasting Spring, a tiny jewel of a garden.[78] The emperor could easily reach its main entrance on the east via a land route from the imperial apartments on the central island.[79]

A problem occurs when comparing the original Hangzhou Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven depicted in the Southern Tours engravings with its tiny Qianlong counterpart. The latter is a far smaller area containing many fewer architectural structures. The Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars only indicate that a five-bay northern structure with a white stone platform, named Study the Ancients (*Xuegu Tang*), overlooked the courtyard with unidentified rare rock and flora of the main garden named Eternal Thought Studio. To the hall's south, a smaller place, reminiscent of a travel lodge, named Pursue Peace Room (*Sui'an Shi*), allowed the emperor to rest by contemplating near or more distant natural constructs dear to any scholar: the prized strange rocks within its courtyards or the borrowed famed artificial

hills to the center and southeast of the Eternal Thought Studio island. Farther still the emperor espied its surrounding waters or the cascading waters in the nearby octagonal pool of the island proper, echoing the saying: Within, piled rocks became peaks and tumbling waterfalls splashed.[80]

The obvious discrepancy of space and content between the original garden and the one it inspired the Qianlong emperor to compose needs explaining. I conclude from both the visual and written imperial sources that he probably intended the Garden of Everlasting Spring's tiny Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven to constitute his interpretation of the humble Wang family's auspiciously located memorial hut. To augment his tiny memorial scholar garden, the emperor placed many other garden elements, including water and buildings, in the larger Eternal Thought Studio! Even its translation, Eternal Thought Studio, links the entire island closely to both the Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven and the theme of filial remembrance of one's parents and ancestors. The main part of this island is then an integral setting for the small garden bearing the formal name of the Hangzhou original.

On this main part of the island the buildings named Eternal Thought Studio were aligned on the north-south axis, like the ones in Hangzhou's Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven. Perhaps to relieve the monotony of rectangular configurations in the Garden of Everlasting Spring's three main clusters in the south, center, and north, an octagonal courtyard with white Chinese jade railings surrounded the similarly-shaped, large, goldfish pond, complete with a spouting fountain that froze in winter. The whole dominated the northern area and was directly aligned with the Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven to its east. This design was no doubt inspired by the original Hangzhou garden's similarly located central waterfall. The octagonal goldfish pond was in close proximity to the imperial apartments in the emperor's garden. He ordered several other fishponds positioned in his other gardens of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, no doubt to ritualize caring for his people.

To this garden pond's west were a hexagonal pavilion perched on a hill, like one in Hangzhou, with covered corridors, and a hall. Obviously, these elements served partly to open the complex to the outside and partly to enclose it.[81] These northwest elements also constituted another garden counterbalancing the tiny Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven.[82] Qianlong could cross the waters separating the west border of the Garden of Everlasting Spring to this northwestern sector via a three-arched stone bridge topped by a double-eaved square pavilion.[83]

A north-south *gong* (工)-shaped structure dominated the central sector of the Eternal Thought Studio. The name of the seven-bay

southern part of this *gong*-shaped building was the Eternal Thought Studio and the smaller northern structure's name was Eyes Open to the World (*Yanjie Kuan*). A broad north-south causeway connected the two to form the stem of the *gong*. The emperor could also utilize interconnecting covered corridors that formed a square.

Apparently, this northern Eyes Open to the World housed a long, narrow, carved inlaid table to display rare items, such as bronze sacrificial vessels or valuable automata for entertainment.[84] Perhaps the venue's name also suggests it functioned as an important depository for world marvels. Records reveal Jesuit staff members regulated the automata, often gifts from European dignitaries, but nothing indicates that persons other than imperial family members and staff viewed them.

Like the Hangzhou garden on which the Eternal Thought Studio was modeled, high artificial hills surrounded all but the southernmost Lake Mountain Hall (*Hushan Tang*). Its name reveals its purpose, as does its terrace and stone-paved walkway which courtiers, arriving by the water route, used.[85] On the extreme northern end of this island was the Mountain and Lake Building for Viewing Scenery (*Shanse Huguang Lou*) perched on a very high platform, which in turn was situated on artificial hills. These feng shui barriers successfully blocked any evil forces that were believed to emanate from the north.

To ascend to this edifice, the emperor climbed a staircase in the shape of the number eight (*ba* /\). As noted, prominence was given the nearby octagonal goldfish pond with its spouting fountain and balustraded courtyard. Eight was a key symbol of this entire island. It appears in various combinations in each of the major beliefs of the Chinese, such as the eight symbols of the Confucian scholar;[86] the eight personal symbols of the Daoist Immortals;[87] and the eight Buddhist emblems to symbolize aspects of their faith.[88] By using this symbol, the Garden of Everlasting Spring's Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven revealed many paradisaical facets which were integrally linked with the larger, main Eternal Thought Studio garden. The entire sector expresses major Confucian ideas in garden design. The Qianlong emperor saw himself as a part of a historical continuum and promoted the ceremonial purpose of this Han Chinese tradition of respecting one's ancestors.

THE ACCORDING TO WISHES GARDEN OR GARDEN OF EASE *(RU YUAN)*

Another garden in the southern Jiangnan style, the According to

Wishes Garden or Garden of Ease, was located in the southeast corner of the Garden of Everlasting Spring immediately west of its main entrance. (Fig. 2.7) Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars concur that it was the largest and most elaborate of the five southern-style gardens in the Garden of Everlasting Spring though they fail to specify its exact size. They differ regarding the Qianlong emperor's inspiration for its layout whether it was Nanjing's Garden of a Respectful Gaze (*Zhan Yuan*)[89] (Fig. 2.8) or that city's Warm Garden (*Xu Yuan*).[90]

A comparison of the According to Wishes Garden with the Warm Garden reveals that both its shape and most of the building names differed from those in the Garden of Everlasting Spring, but the two venues corresponded in many other basic details. The Warm Garden was L-shaped, while the Qianlong counterpart was rectangular. Both gardens ran alongside a lengthy pond. A pair of major structures on a north-south axis overlooked either side of the western pond. A hall on a large platform graced the north side while its smaller counterpart marked the south. The latter structure in the According to Wishes Garden, though rectangular, was not boat-shaped as was its Nanjing model, but to the south of piled rocks, both gardens contained a building, named after the Chinese parasol tree (*wutong*).[91]

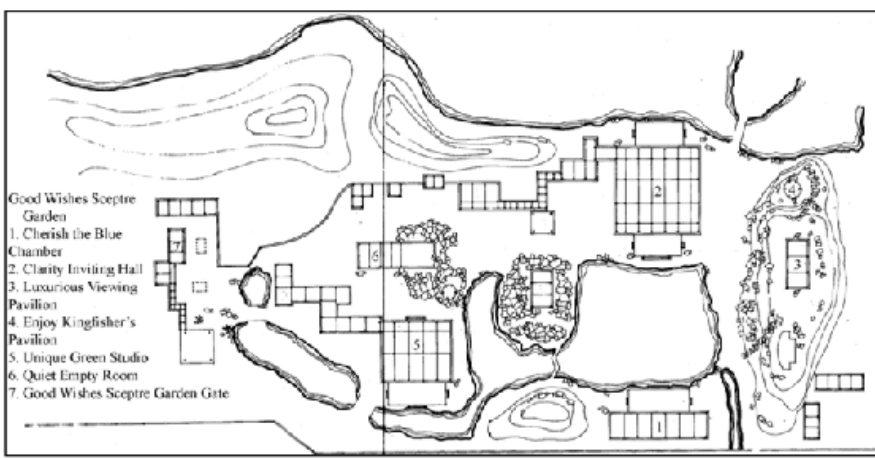

Good Wishes Sceptre Garden
1. Cherish the Blue Chamber
2. Clarity Inviting Hall
3. Luxurious Viewing Pavilion
4. Enjoy Kingfisher's Pavilion
5. Unique Green Studio
6. Quiet Empty Room
7. Good Wishes Sceptre Garden Gate

Figure 2.7 Map of Good Wishes Sceptre Garden *(Ru Yuan)*. (Siu family collection).

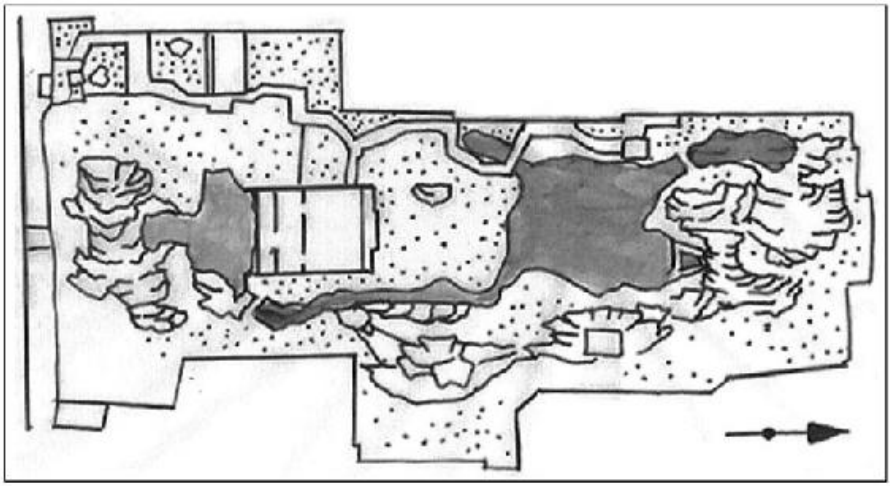


Figure 2.8 Map of Respectful Gaze Garden *(Zhan Yuan)*, Nanjing (model for Ru Yuan). (Siu family collection).

The Nanjing garden that inspired Qianlong's layout for the According to Wishes Garden featured water on an east-west axis and well-planned rockeries, grottoes, and artificial hills.[92] Though small, it was renowned as an artificial mountain garden (*jiashan yuan*). Its hills, some with famous caves, covered .61 acre of the 1.31 acres garden. These rivaled natural mountains and complemented the water elements centered on a large western pond elongated to the east as in the According to Wishes Garden.[93]

The Chinese scepter (*ruyi*) in the name of this garden has nothing to do with a ruler's insignia except perhaps its shape. Rather, it embodies the notion of what one wants and so it was customarily presented to older persons as a wish that everything might go as they wanted. Given its auspicious nature, it is not surprising that Qianlong's According to Wishes Garden was included in the Garden of Everlasting Spring where he intended to retire.

The main entrance to the According to Wishes Garden was on the west; the eastern wall remained unbroken. (Another gate in the southwest wall allowed easy access from the Garden of Everlasting Spring annex to the main Garden of Perfect Brightness or adjacent gardens via a bridge, named Overpass Bridge [*Guojie Qiao*]). The east-west width is bisected by a magnificent artificial hill complete with caves and hidden recesses. This largest man-made rockery[94] in the Garden of Everlasting Spring was balanced by the densely wooded, highest easternmost hill of more than twenty-one feet.[95] Important buildings enhanced each elevation. For example, a six-sided, double-hipped pavilion on the northern end of the highest eastern hill was named Enjoy King-fishers Pavilion (*Nacui Ting*).[96] It attracted the eye to the highest peak by its brilliant blue-green coloration and

doubtlessly served as a beacon landmark in the Garden of Everlasting Spring. The structure's counterpart was a crescent-moon-shaped pavilion at the southern end of the heavily-wooded hill. Both book-ended the three-bay Viewing Abundance Pavilion (*Guanfeng Xie*) on the eastern prominence. From these elevated sites, the emperor enjoyed a panorama of the entire Garden of Everlasting Spring, which extended northward to the depth of 1,300 to 1,950 feet, broken only by the Garden of Reflection (*Jian Yuan*) and the islets surrounding the central island of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[97]

To the northwest artificial mountains marked the According to Wishes Garden boundary. The west part of the garden featured the largest of several ponds, abutted to the north and south by its two most elaborate and largest edifices. Respectively named the Enhanced Verdance Hall (*Yanqing Tang*) and the Storing of Blue Jade Building (*Hanbi Lou*), each had white stone platforms reaching out to the pond's water. The base of the first structure stretched north to the water connecting the According to Wishes Garden with the rest of the Garden of Everlasting Spring. These platforms thus conveyed a sense of openness to the larger space.[98] On the other hand, the massive northeast building blocked the view of those outside the garden, giving a sense of privacy.[99]

Some scholars declare the eastern sector of the According to Wishes Garden to be the most important for its designed attractions, but others prefer the western area's appeal. For instance, west of the central grotto-filled hill was the Quiet, Empty Studio (*Jingxu Zhai*), placed in a particularly isolated location. Hills bordered most of its southeast, while immediately in front of it was an encircling rockery. Its eastern white stone platform, named Viewing Scenery (*Guanjing*), admirably served the emperor as a viewing stand to admire rare tree peonies in a flowerbed, or beyond, the central grotto-filled hill reminiscent of the Daoist Paradise.[100] Another three-roomed pavilion atop the hill allowed him a solitary place to contemplate nature. To its southwest, a five-pillar hall, named Only Green Study (*Weilu Xuan*), again with a level stone platform to its south, abutted the stream bordering the building. All the structures and elevations overlooking the water contributed to a sense of being suspended over a mirror.[101]

In the western sector, a three-pillared building named the Chinese Parasol Tree Study (*Tongyin Xuan*) was positioned across the beach beside scattered rockeries and a bridge leading to adjoining gardens.[102] The word yin in the name refers to the silver apricot (*yinxing*), a descriptive name for the gingko tree. Many Chinese parasol trees, commonly thought to bring good fortune, as they were the preferred places for phoenixes to alight, shaded the area. It was said that each spring when the Chinese parasol tree blossoms

appeared, Qianlong chose to appreciate them here at this famed spot in the According to Wishes Garden.

In all, he carefully selected a variety of popular and Daoist-inspired scenes in both sectors of this meticulously-conceived Jiangnan-inspired garden specifically named after the *ruyi* emblem. As a filial son, he no doubt accompanied his aged mother there to convey felicitous wishes, but he also envisioned it as an auspicious garden of ease for his own last years.

THE GARDEN OF REFLECTION

Small (about 1,056 square feet) and southern-inspired, the Garden of Reflection overlooked the water on the southeast side of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[103] Immediately north of the According to Wishes Garden, it seems to have served as its counterpart. The designers of the Garden of Reflection successfully overcame two major problems. One was to align the garden with the abutting water to the east without having it appear monotonous, and the other was to distribute its interior elements over an elongated north-south and narrow east-west strip without conveying the impression of overcrowding. This was managed by ingeniously interspersing four courtyards between the two major east-west edifices at the north and at the center.[104] (Fig. 2.9)

The large northern courtyard featured a goldfish pond, shaped somewhat like the head of a golf club.[105] This pool created the feeling of being in a garden surrounded by water.[106] At the narrow southern end, a small east-west building, which abutted one of the courtyards on the north and a dock for the imperial launches on the south, punctuated the length. Irregular coastal indentations helped solve the other problem: avoiding shoreline monotony. Covered corridors along the coast invited the emperor and his family either to linger by the railings to contemplate the sweeping view of the central islands amid the water or to enter any of the interior buildings for study and reflection. In all, this ingenious garden reveals how southern Chinese artists achieved an open, spacious feeling within a compact garden without violating the landscapist's cardinal rule of a quiet appeal to the emotions.

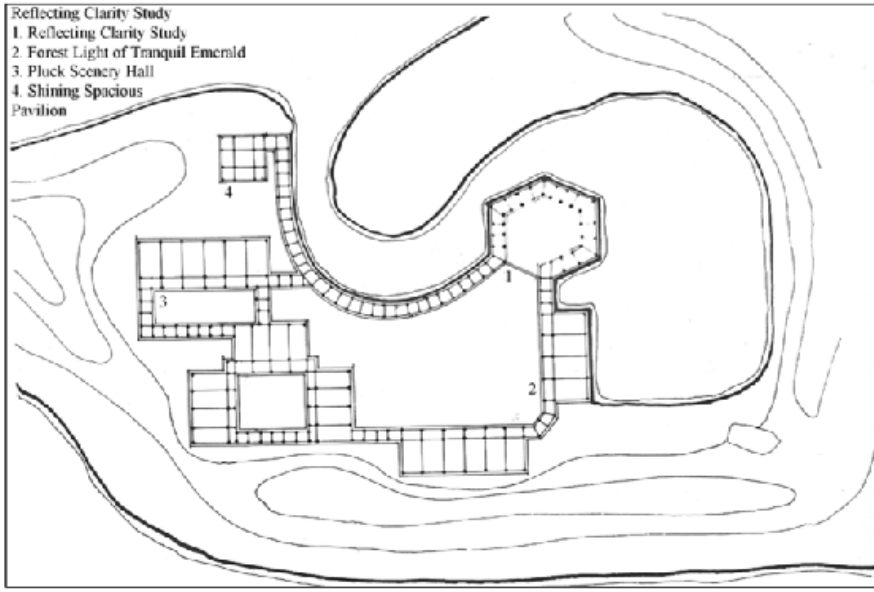


Figure 2.9 Map of Reflecting Clarity Studio. (*Yingqing Zhai*). (Siu family collection).

Special goldfish were featured in the Garden of Reflection.[107] These traditional Chinese ornamental fish (*yu*) are descendants of the orange crucian carp, discovered in Hangzhou and Jiaxing, Zhejiang, during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) and raised in artificial ponds built for them in the Hangzhou imperial gardens. These proved so popular that not only high-ranking officials and members of the elite had them, but Song commoners also followed suit and the fish were in homes everywhere. By Qing times, as preferences grew more refined, the people raised rare varieties in courtyards and indoor fish basins of porcelain or carved white marble.[108] In this Jiangnan-inspired garden many swam tranquilly in the prominent pond bordered by carved Chinese white stone railings.[109]

To the north of this fishpond was the two-story Ten Thousand Source Pavilion (*Wanyuan Ge*). As its name implies, it housed a major collection of ancient and current books and scrolls, making it rank second among the imperial libraries in the three gardens: the Garden of Perfect Brightness, Garden of Everlasting Spring, Garden of Blossoming Spring (*Qichun Yuan*), later known as the Garden of the Ten Thousand Springs (*Wanchun Yuan*).[110] To the south of the pool was the three-roomed Shade of the Chinese Parasol Tree Study (*Tongyin Shuwu*), positioned in the center of the north-south axis. The name Qianlong selected harks back to a garden of the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties that had the same name. Among its major symbols is the *tong* character, referring to the *wutong* or the Chinese parasol tree, which is native to China and Japan. Like those in the

already noted According to Wishes Garden to the south, the courtyards featured a profusion of these auspicious trees in the hopes that a phoenix would alight in one, bringing good luck to the family. The Chinese parasol tree is also known as the Phoenix Tree, as it symbolizes the female principle, yin. Thus, when a son was burying his mother, he carried a ritual mourning staff made of this wood.[111] The *wutong* term for the reading room of this garden and the one in the According to Wishes Garden therefore signal the filial dimension of the Qianlong emperor toward his mother. So much did he value filial piety, a cardinal Confucian virtue, that he featured it in these two small, southern-inspired gardens. A final architectural feature indicated the counterpart nature of the two adjoining gardens: a zigzag bridge linked the Garden of Reflection directly with the According to Wishes Garden to its southeast. In all, the emperor selected natural and literary elements for his Garden of Reflection to express his responsibility to ponder continuities with the past, another cardinal Confucian idea. This venue's design enabled him to look out over the water and mountains of the Garden of Everlasting Spring to gain the proper perspective for the present and the future.

These five gardens in the Garden of Everlasting Spring demonstrate how Qing dynasty imperial garden designers absorbed and copied techniques and styles from the famous residential gardens in southern China. Whenever something caught the attention of the Kangxi and the Qianlong emperors during their Southern Tours, they ordered their artists to make drawings of it. The latter's 1765 Southern Tours album of engravings accompanied by texts regarding each garden is entitled Official Account of the Southern Tours (*Nanxun Shengdian*). This sixty-six volume work was presented to Qianlong in 1771. These depictions became the inspiration for imperial garden designs.[112] Many famous garden designers were summoned to join in the imperial enterprise of garden construction, and Jiangnan owners of precious garden items, such as spirit rocks, became donors to grace the emperor's new venues.

That Qing dynasty designers focused on scenic planning and organization is readily evident from studying imperial gardens, such as the Garden of Everlasting Spring. The placement of the Imperial Apartments and its studios in the center, and the five southern-inspired gardens at the corners of the site attest to fine organizational skills. As in paintings, each of these imperial gardens, small or large, consisted of several scenic areas, because the concept of landscape was a major element in garden design.[113] In contrast to Western principles, a Chinese garden is supposed to be modeled on nature. While the water and mountains constituted the nonhuman parts of the garden, the architectural elements, which added the human touches,

are considered enhancements to nature. In addition, the fundamental standard of each of the five Chinese gardens of the Garden of Everlasting Spring is that it constituted a mini-cosmos.

ADJOINING SECTORS

The Skillfully-worked Jade House (*Yulinglong Guan*) was located on the eastern axis of the central island of the Garden of Everlasting Spring that contained the imperial apartments. It was given its name because it featured rare stones from Hunan and probably also housed the splendid collection of jades that the Qianlong emperor carefully assembled. Chinese have long valued jade as the gem par excellence; it symbolized quality and the perfection of human virtue. The belief that jade staved off decay is evidenced by the custom of placing pieces of the gem in the orifices of the deceased, and, sometimes, clothing the body in suits of jade.[114] The stone was also associated with longevity; it supposedly liquefied when combined with an appropriate herb into a quaffable elixir, which extended one's life for a thousand years.[115] Because of these long-held beliefs the emperor ordered a Skillfully-worked Jade Studio (*Yulinglong* Zhai) to be placed in the Garden of Everlasting Spring where he wished to retire and die.

Skillfully-worked Jade Rock (*Yulinglong Shi*), a venue bearing a similar name, was positioned in the west of an extensive northeastern courtyard. A Qianlong poem alludes to a display there of precious Hunan river stones as well as three to four peaks enhanced by five or six types of speckled bamboo, also from Hunan. Under moonlit skies, their twisted forms, moved by the wind, cast strange shadows.[116] A part of the walled northeastern sector, shaded by a bamboo grove, was later depicted on an oddly-shaped imperial ink cake made in the Jiaqing era (1796-1820). An unnamed square pavilion with a pointed roof was probably the central Get Close to Gulls Pavilion (*Xia'ou Ting*), which overlooked the water to the northeast, and served as a dramatic unifier of the nearby hills on all four sides.

A study of the schematic diagram of the Skillfully-worked Jade Rock venue reveals its basic composition: a sparsely built eastern section and a compact western part. A series of long open corridors ingeniously connected all the structures as well as formed spacious courtyards between them. The whole central north-south axis, consisting of one of the longest covered corridors on the islands, augmented this atmosphere of open space and interconnectedness between the east and west sectors.

The three main structures in the western sector are on the important north-south axis, denoting their high status. The first is the

southernmost entrance building with the island's name. Crossing a spacious courtyard, Qianlong ascended broad red steps to a high platform elevating the central seven-bay structure, the True Friendship Through the Bright Way (*Zhengyi Mingdao*).[117] Proceeding northward again, he crossed another courtyard to the northernmost ten-pillar building abutting the water, named Beneficial Consideration Hall (*Yisi Tang*).[118] To its south was a structure like the Chinese character for rice paddy (*tian* 田). Named Forest Light of Tranquil Emerald (*Linguang Danbi*), it is reminiscent of one in the Garden of Perfect Brightness. This, in turn, connected through corridors with other small structures. The 1756 Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records indicate that Qianlong ordered Castiglione to decorate an unnamed five-room structure here with a Western-style perspective painting.[119]

On the northeast side of these three main structures was the broadest courtyard. Its enclosing walls protected the precious stones within, but the corridors encircling the open space were raised above the barriers, enabling the emperor to look between its pillars or those of the central square pavilion, aptly named after gulls. He beheld the refracted colors of nearby hills and scenery in lake water from that height. Such distant views from elevated halls or mountain heights stem from Daoist ideas linked to reclusive mountain dwellings, common elements in Chinese garden design.[120] Within the courtyard itself, Qianlong could admire matched greenery, tall trees, or the featured Hunan lake-stone ornaments.[121]

A level zigzag bridge connected the southern shore of the Skillfully-worked Jade Studio to its sheltering cove counterpart, named Reflecting Clarity Studio (*Yingqing Zhai*). (Fig. 2.10) Blue mountains encircled its east, west, and south sides. An S-shaped inlet on its north formed a river harbor, and, bordered by a curving thirty-three section corridor which terminated at the west, was a large square structure named Shining Spacious Pavilion (*Zhaoguang Ting*).[122] Large black fish flourished within these waters.[123] In a bend of the shore at the southeast terminus of this S-shaped corridor, a major twelve-room structure, also named Reflecting Clarity Studio, thrust into the water. According to related documents, the original semicircular building was modified into a pentagonal, three-roomed, four-section structure called the Mandarin Duck Hall (*Yuanyang Ting*). The Chinese consider the now extremely rare mandarin ducks to be superior, i.e., like mandarins, over others of their auspicious species, partly because of their extremely beautiful plumage[124] and partly because of their conjugal fidelity. The drake, predominately gold with black, white, and blue markings, mates once in its lifetime.[125] The ducks' colors must have distinguished the Reflecting Clarity Studio.

The Studio's position overlooking black fish reminds us that Chinese actions may carry a symbolic message, here probably a call to reflect about commitments to family values.

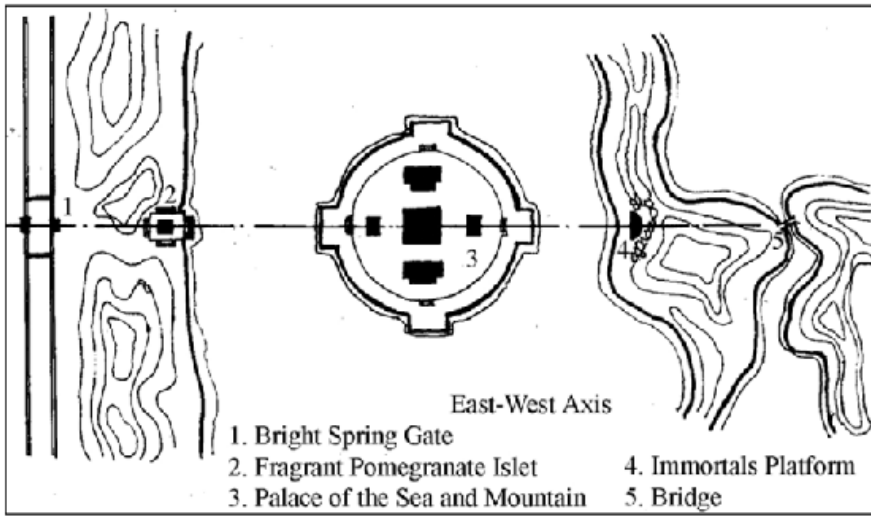


Figure 2.10 Map of East-West Axis including circular Palace of the Sea and Mountain *(Haiyue Kaijin)*. (Siu family collection).

The design of this Mandarin Duck Hall as well as all similarly named structures is not known as they are no longer extant. Scholars of Chinese architecture, however, believe that such halls in the Qianlong era featured two distinct rooms, front and back, divided by a sheathed latticework wall. In fact, Mandarin Duck Halls were four-sided pavilions (*simian ting*)[126] intended for appreciating seasonal changes in gardens. Even the different ceiling structures and decorations corresponded to the seasons. Rooms facing south were for winter and spring, while those facing north were for summer and autumn. What made the structure in the Garden of Everlasting Spring unique was its unusual pentagonal shape. Though some criticize the Mandarin Duck Hall's unusual position on the Garden of Everlasting Spring's distinctive cove as causing a break in the setting,[127] others praise the whole sector as a creative achievement of an outstandingly serene landscape.[128]

Indeed, viewing the multifaceted gold and indigo landscape seems to have been the purpose of this subsector, just as skillfully worked jade unifies its northern counterpart. For instance, directly south of the main structure of the sector in question was a three-room waterside pavilion, from which the emperor could enjoy the wooded hills reflected in water to its east that teemed with black fish. Like the other square building on the opposite side of the Skillfully-worked Jade Rock Island, it was named Forest Light of Tranquil Emerald.

Southwestward, along ascending winding corridors stood other structures, connected via similar walkways, for enjoying wooded hills. The name of the three-bay Pluck Scenery Building (*Xiejing Lou*) in the far west bend of the cove reminded the emperor of the landscape. In all, Qianlong augmented Chinese garden history with this understated and secluded gold cove, a counterpart to the jade-green main island to its north. Its integrated design recalls Daoist reclusive themes coupled with intimations of immortality.

MIND-OPENING ISLE *(HAIYUE KAIJIN)*

The metaphorical meaning of the island named Mind-opening Isle is both easily identifiable and important as it is placed as the western counterpart to the Skillfully-worked Jade Rock venue in the east of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.

A medallion-shaped island, it is strategically placed on the western axis extending from the eastern shore of the Sea of Fortune (*Fu Hai*) of the Garden of Perfect Brightness to the heart of the Garden of Everlasting Spring. The island occupied the center of this east-west axis.

From the Garden of Perfect Brightness, the imperial entourage frequently entered this garden annex through the Bright Spring Gate (*Mingchun Men*). Progressing east through a narrow, hilly strip filled with rocks and vegetation, particularly pomegranates, long a symbol of fertility,[129] they arrived at a ponderously-eaved, sixteen-pillared square pavilion on a white marble base. This pavilion overlooked the water of the West Lake of the Garden of Everlasting Spring. Willows graced its shoreline and lotuses filled the proximate waters.[130]

The setting of this pavilion, originally considered a scenic spot, was named Fragrant Pomegranates Islet (*Liuxiang Zhu*).[131] It was ringed with beautiful plants and served as a place to await the royal launch. From thence the emperor, sometimes accompanied by his court ladies, could either dock at any one of the four island piers located at each of the cardinal points of the compass, or circumvent the medallion-shaped Mind-opening Isle to land at another narrow strip to its east, which featured an important site, Immortals' Platform (*Xianren Tai*) placed high on an earthen Long Hill (*Chang Shan*). It was but a short distance from the platform to the bridge joining this strip to the imperial residences in the center of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.

The Mind-opening Isle rested on a round marble foundation in the middle of the West Lake in the Garden of Everlasting Spring. Qianlong had to sail to this circular island, built in 1747 (twelfth year of the

Qianlong reign), since he had ordered no connecting bridges to adjoining sites. The island towered and gleamed above the water. At each of the four quadrants of the round temple's lower level stood a dock with a stone pavilion, where attendants awaited the imperial launch. Often used for temple rituals, the entire building constituted a two-level round altar. Protective white Chinese marble railings around all sides of both levels made this venue like its larger and still extant counterpart in the Temple of Heaven (*Tian Tan*).[132] The diameters of the lower and upper levels, constructed of white stone, measured about 260 feet and 235 feet, respectively.[133] At the center of the upper level was the principal building, a three-storied, square, stone structure named the Sea and Mountain Palace (*Haishan Gong*). Smaller, five-room, mountain-lodge-type buildings stood to its north and south, while small, square, open pavilions balanced its east and west. According to a poem, quality blue-skinned spirit rocks, shading white jade stone seats, clustered between each set of quadrant buildings and enhanced the area.[134]

Approachable from all quadrants, the taller, central, pavilion-style building had corridors on each side. A verandah, which featured window frames with removable glass, extended from the middle level.[135] A yellow-tiled pavilion roof, sloping to a sharp central point that was accentuated by a round, gilded-bronze pinnacle, finished the smallest, third floor.

A throne graced the front hall. Fine screens with landscapes, including auspicious cranes and deer and a pair of peacock feathers, prevented unseasonable drafts. Brightly colored Afghan rugs beneath these screens enhanced the area and provided further insulation. These halls also served as a repository for antiques of bronzes, as well as jades and other stones. Suitably-sized diverse vegetation completed the setting on both levels. White-barked pines mixed with prize bonsai of practically every variety, such as special bamboo, willows, pines, cedars, and pomegranates, made this area wonderful to behold.[136] The overall experience of being on this sacred island, then, was like floating between clouds and water in a magnificent jade vessel.[137]

To grasp fully the emperor's design and the intended significance of the building requires studying the still-extant, white, circular altar in the Temple of Heaven.[138] The Chinese associate roundness with completeness and heaven, and they originally thought the earth was four-cornered and subdivided into squares; hence the round island and the square altar. The feudal lords of China were entrusted with maintaining peace in the Four Directions, accomplished by opening the Four Portals; hence the altar's approachability from all four quadrants. Finally, since the Chinese prefer the symbol five to four (since five allows the important middle to be included as a direction),

the island was placed directly in the center of the north-south axis to allow for this fifth direction.[139]

The design of the Mind-opening Isle indicates that the Qianlong emperor understood well the long tradition in Chinese culture of the emperors' responsibility for maintaining world peace. His choice of architectural elements reveals the cosmic dimensions of this unique garden venue. Specifically, the emperor ordered a round island and square altar because cosmically, the round signifies heaven to the Chinese, while the square symbolizes the earth.

Those familiar with the emperor's fondness for Tibetan Buddhism might well augment the Han Chinese meanings of the medallion-shaped island. Paintings of the emperor as the chief deity in the center of religious mandalas allow us to suppose that the emperor might well have inserted a mandala-shaped Mind-opening Isle in the Garden of Everlasting Spring, as others have asserted he did in the imperial garden at Rehe, in his quest for immortality or everlasting spring via multireligious experiences.[140] What strengthens this consideration of the whole medallion island as a carefully crafted mandala is not only its shape, but also the fact that it is the only site in the Garden of Everlasting Spring that is completely surrounded by water and was reachable solely by boat in the Qianlong era. The reason might also be ritualistic; the emperor could circle the sacred site in the royal barge rather than circumambulate it.

The Immortals' Platform directly to the east was much more elaborate than a single deity on a stone platform. Since Chinese believe rainwater or dew collected without contamination with earthly things confers immortality, statues of immortals sometimes grace gardens for this purpose.[141] (Color Plate 2.7) In this section of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, a multistoried pavilion with a triple-eaved and yellow-tiled sloping roof rose high on a layered stone platform atop a hill. Housed within were the Recall Precious Jade Pond (*Suyao Chi*), as well as places to venerate the Holy Mother of Heaven (*Tianshang Shengmu*),[142] and the twelve female Immortals.[143] All of these references relate to the cardinal theme of longevity/immortality. The Holy Mother of Heaven could be Mazu, a goddess worshipped since the eleventh century, particularly by boatmen and fisherman in South China who count on her to rescue them from the perils of the sea.[144] The Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars extend the gender theme further by noting that multicolored tree peonies, the Queen of Flowers, from myriad sources encircled the area.

The entire east-west axis from the Garden of Perfect Brightness's Bright Spring Gate through the final Immortals' Platform segment is a brilliantly conceived, yet solemn architectural feat, especially the medallion-shaped Mind-opening Isle and the Immortals' Platform with

their touches of gold and marble. The sector expresses important religious beliefs embodied by its creator in garden designs. Although seemingly a humbler way of entering the Garden of Everlasting Spring than through the southern palace gate, this east-west route, considered more noble and celebrated, was actually preferred.

SIMPLE (OR HUMBLE) MEMORIES HALL *(DANHUAI TANG)*

The Simple (or Humble) Memories Hall was the audience hall sited immediately within the southern main entrance complex of the Garden of Everlasting Spring. Its design was similar to those of other entrances to imperial gardens, like the extant one in what is popularly called the Summer Palace. The southernmost, five-bay, grey-tiled Simple (or Humble) Memories Hall's gatehouse had a central, massive, six-leaved vermilion gate studded with eighty-one gold nails, arranged in groups of nine. Two vermilion windows likewise pierced the wall on either side of this gate, augmenting security.[145] Between the gate and the screen were two reception rooms for officials (*chaofang*) and two prominent, bronze, mythical animals (*xiezhi*), reputedly able to distinguish right from wrong.[146]

Within the main gate stretched a large courtyard with a commemorative arch and two small independent buildings fronting the room main temple, named Xianda Yau audience hall which was on a raised platform. Four ancient incense burners lined the front.[147] Behind the hall stretched a smaller courtyard with covered walkways connecting the building to the double-eaved, square Numerous Joys Pavilion (*Zhongle Ting*) on the northern Long River border of the audience hall complex. Its entire length along the axis from this pavilion to the main entrance measured about 400 feet. A ten-arched stone bridge spanning the Garden of Everlasting Spring's southern branch of the Long River connected the audience hall complex to the imperial apartments on the central isle. Simply called Everlasting Spring Bridge (*Changchun Qiao*), it had at each end a pair of bridge pavilions with single-eaved roofs sloping to a point.[148]

Despite its rather grand scale, this audience hall complex at the formal entrance of the annex apparently was not used by court officials for imperial matters. Neither did the emperor and his court ladies seem to pass through it when visiting the Garden of Everlasting Spring, preferring instead to enter along the east-west axis. The venue's apparent neglect by these two groups is significant. Studying the functions of the garden's sectors reveals it as a private space for

the emperor and his rather extensive imperial family to fulfill spiritual and personal needs in an informal manner. It was not a public space for formal functions, as were parts of the Garden of Perfect Brightness; imperial records reveal that the emperor at times hosted the heads of various minorities in the main garden. As an indication of the audience hall and formal entrance complex's empty nature or uselessness, the scholars of the Garden of Everlasting Spring point out that they cannot be directly positioned on its important north-south axis since the Garden of Blossoming Spring blocks that possibility.[149] From this and the other architectural arrangements within the total garden annex, we gather that the Qianlong emperor valued the private functions of the classic Chinese garden.

TEMPLES

Earlier imperial gardens featured fewer religious structures than those ordered by the Qing dynasty's emperors. They espoused the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, but also honored the various deities of the major Chinese traditions in a plethora of suitable architectural settings. For example, the Qianlong emperor worshipped at a Buddhist temple in the heart of the Garden of Everlasting Spring and positioned two other magnificent Buddhist complexes and a Daoist paradise sector to its north, along the border strip demarking the Chinese sector, immediately south of the European sector. The 1756 Clothing Records reveal that the emperor offered Buddhist sacrifices in the Garden of Everlasting Spring six times. On the first day of the sixth Chinese month, he worshipped Buddhist deities (*Bai Fo*), not only at various temples in the main garden, but also at unspecified sites in the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[150] These Buddhist rituals occurred on the first and fifteenth days of the month.

WISDOM OF THE BUDDHIST LAW TEMPLE *(FAHUI SI)*

In the northwest corner of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, east and south of a mass of high artificial mountains, the emperor erected the Wisdom of the Buddhist Law Temple. A major Buddhist temple surrounded by hills to the east, north, and west, it was therefore only accessible by a narrow mountain path terminating in a western mountain gate. The amazing view, even from the south, was of a

magnificent tiled pagoda of five-colored, glass bricks (*wusi liulizhuan wa ta*) soaring skyward in the complex's west. Named Multiple Treasures Pagoda (*Duobao Ta*), this octagonal seven-storied structure towered over the surrounding landscape. (Color Plates 2.8 & 2.9) It was one of Qianlong's five, tiled, double- and triple-eaved pagodas erected in his imperial gardens.[151] Information from the pagoda's original schematic in Beijing's cultural relics archives[152] reveals it featured a fine ten-foot, gold-plated bronze finial, pillars supporting heavy, colorful eaves, and between the gracefully-arched, false windows, numerous niches displaying tiny statues of Guanyin.[153]

The emperor positioned the main structures in the important north-south configuration on the eastern side of the Wisdom of the Buddhist Law Temple. Although the southernmost building and the sector bear the same name, its creator wanted to be perceived as elevating the wisdom of the Buddhist law. But the emperor selected the full name, Wisdom of the Buddhist Law Temple, for this complex because Buddhists believed Manjusri, ancestor of the Qing emperors, changed into the terrifying nine-headed, thirty-four-armed Yamantaka or the Conqueror of Yama, and in this form saved believers from the God of Hell. On hearing Yamantaka preach the Buddhist law, Yama repented and was transformed.[154] Finally, Qianlong ordered this major Buddhist temple sector placed on the northern border of the Garden of Everlasting Spring's Chinese sector since Buddhists believe evil forces emanate from this direction. The presence of the bodhisattva-ancestor in an appropriately named temple there would surely safeguard the emperor during his retirement and afterlife.

By crossing the northern courtyard of the Wisdom of the Buddhist Law Temple, Qianlong arrived at another *gong* (工)-shaped building,[155] consisting of the five-room, southern Great and Multiple Protective Blessings (*Fuyou Daqian*) and its northern counterpart on a higher level, the Emanating Glory Without Measure (*Faguang Wuliang*).[156] The varied worthies within the Great and Multiple Protective Blessings were the Three Generations Buddhas (*Sanshifo*), namely the Buddhas of the Past, Present, and Future; and, arranged on either side of them, the eighteen Arhats (*Luohan*), the most advanced disciples of Buddha. Thus, the emperor included popularly revered Buddhist deities and saints among those venerated in the Garden of Everlasting Spring.

THE PRECIOUS LIKENESS TEMPLE *(BAOXIANG SI)*

The second major temple complex on the northern border of the Garden of Everlasting Spring's Chinese sector, immediately south of the European sector, was the Precious Likeness Temple. Located in the northeast, its north-south layout, graduated northward on four levels[157] up the pine-filled mountains. Its compact size corresponded with the unusual characteristics of the Wisdom of the Buddhist Law Temple.[158] Another similarity was the presence of the Three Great Beings (*Sandashi*) venerated within the northernmost five-room main temple, named the Contemporary Great Round Mirror (*Xianda Yuanjing*).[159] They were depicted riding a lion, a mythological animal (*hou*)[160] that somewhat resembled a Buddhist lion, and an elephant, respectfully. As in the Wisdom of the Buddhist Law Temple, the deity honored, this time astride the lion, is Manjusri.

The other Great Beings, Guanyin and Puxian (Sanskrit: Samantabhadra), were likewise among the most popular Chinese devotional figures. Guanyin, which signifies "the one who listens to the sounds," i.e., one who hears prayers, is sometimes portrayed as a man and is often riding the mythical *hou*. Originally, the male Buddhist bodhisattva, Avalokitesvara, the patron saint of Tibetan Buddhism, this deity gradually evolved in medieval China into a beloved female deity. She is popularly represented as a beautiful and gracious woman in flowing robes and holding a child, like the Christian Madonna. Temples honoring Guanyin, like the one in the Garden of Everlasting Spring, flourish throughout China, and she is worshipped in every family. Daoists imitate the Buddhists in lauding her purity, her wisdom, her ability to metamorphose, and her great power, not only to save the lost, but also to free the pious from misfortunes such as the forces of nature.[161] By ordering her figure placed in the Garden of Everlasting Spring's temple complex, the Qianlong emperor indicated that he recognized Guanyin as an ecumenical figure, honored alike by Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhists, Chinese Mahayana Buddhists, and Daoists.

Given that Puxian successfully fought an elephant in the form of a man, the third of the Three Great Beings is permitted to ride one. This deity is depicted with a green, and sometimes feminine, face astride a white elephant, the supreme Buddhist symbol.[162] Since his Chinese name means 'all gracious' and his Sanskrit name, Samantabhadra, means 'great activity,' this patron saint of Mount Emei in Sichuan was especially popular there, judging from the many temples in his honor. All of the Three Great Beings venerated within the northern Contemporary Great Round Mirror complex of the Garden of Everlasting Spring had unusual power over the forces of nature and the animal kingdom.[163]

In the southernmost five-bay Transparent Bright Pavilion

(*Zongguang Ge*), Chinese worshipped the Jade Emperor (*Yuhuang Dadi*),[164] one of the Three Pure Ones (*Sanqing*) of the Daoist trinity.[165] The Jade Emperor is the supreme Master of the Gods. His radiant countenance was said to be utterly beautiful, his generosity and compassion overwhelming, and his pure intelligence so clear that he could elucidate the most abstract doctrines to save the people. He is the subject of healing and medical tales as well as a nature myth because of the names of his parents, Brilliant Emperor (*Qingdi*) and Precious Moonlight (*Baoyueguang*), that is, the sun and the moon. Since their union symbolizes the revival of spring,[166] the Qianlong emperor fittingly selected the Daoist Jade Emperor for this temple sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring where he wanted to retire and die.

A review of these deities reveals the emperor's Precious Likeness Temple, unlike its adjoining Wisdom of the Buddhist Law Temple, honored the popular deities familiar even to the common people. The mixture of Buddhist with Daoist deities in the two temples occurs, because the Chinese were only concerned with the state cult and it was never identified with a specific body of teaching of a particular sect. This resulted in a fairly consistent conception of the afterworld, which obviously was drawn from different sources. Although the system of hells and judgment is strongly influenced by Buddhism, it clearly shows the ingrained Chinese belief in the survival of an individual soul. For those who saw themselves as true Buddhists, and who saw rebirth on this earth as only an extension of suffering, there evolved a compromise: through the intercession of either the Buddha himself or of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarba, a person's soul could be reborn as a lotus in the Western Paradise of the Amitabha Buddha. Daoist rituals were also developed to free the spirit and permit it entry into the realm of the Queen Mother of the West (*Xiwang Mu*), the goddess who reigned over the paradise of the Immortals. Positioning the temples on the northern border of the Garden of Everlasting Spring's Chinese sector indicates that, in his old age, the Qianlong emperor sought the protection of a variety of deities from diverse religious traditions. He also created an environment that fostered the ceremonial meaning of the imperial owner.

THE MARSHY ORCHID HALL *(ZELAN TANG)*

The importance of the Marshy Orchid Hall is immediately evident to the viewer from its placement on the all-important north-south axis of

the Chinese sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring. (Fig. 2.11) In fact it acts as its northern punctuation point. Directly south of it across the water is the island heart of this garden, while north of it is the centrally located Great Fountains (*Dashui Fa*) of the European sector. High artificial mountains separated these two sectors. From the Marshy Orchid Hall's buildings perched on these prominences, the emperor enjoyed a panoramic southern view of the entire Chinese sector.[167] Similar garden vistas had long enabled scholars to gain the proper historical perspective on events.

The architectural elements are divided into the northern and southern parts. The Transmission of Dark Jade Study (*Cuijiao Xuan*) was centrally placed in the southern part, overlooking the water. A vast, stone cave, named Springtime Cave (*Xichun Dong*), framed its south, and artificial hills, its north. Proceeding to the northern sector, Qianlong first arrived at the five-pillar Receive Mountain Hall (*Shoushan Lou*), and then at the even larger Marshy Orchid Hall.[168] Covered corridors linked the two and completed the square of this complex. The courtyard contained precious strange rocks and vegetation, creating a natural, wild atmosphere.

Different-sized, blue, stacked stones characterized the entire east-west part of the sector. They were fashioned into a sizeable mountain range with realistic rocky gullies and ditches as well as caves and bridges. Moreover, the designers included secret gullies and pipes through which flowed the water for both the spouting fountains and a waterfall. The nearby hill contained a second cave, named Enjoy This Clear Cool Cave (*Shouci Qingliang Ku*). The Qianlong emperor admired it so much that he ordered a stone sign fashioned to identify it.[169]

The originality of the design of the Marshy Orchid Hall area on the Garden of Everlasting Spring's axis is evident, from both the extensive prominent caves and rocky formations overlooking the water and the architectural edifices on them. A second unique feature is the blue coloration of the hills throughout. The Marshy Orchid Hall itself, unlike its common name, was a seldom seen, stone edifice set high on a rocky platform and surrounded by pines, flowers, and corridors from which one could admire the mountainous setting. This environ made it seem part of an opening in the mountain. The whole natural assemblage of the Marshy Orchid Hall and its environment indicate this site is Daoist inspired. The two vast caves on the important north-south axis signal in particular an opening to a paradise beyond, the desired locus for the emperor who wanted to spend his waning years in the Garden of Everlasting Spring. The Marshy Orchid Hall is a unique Daoist paradise sector within the greater Garden of Perfect Brightness.[170]

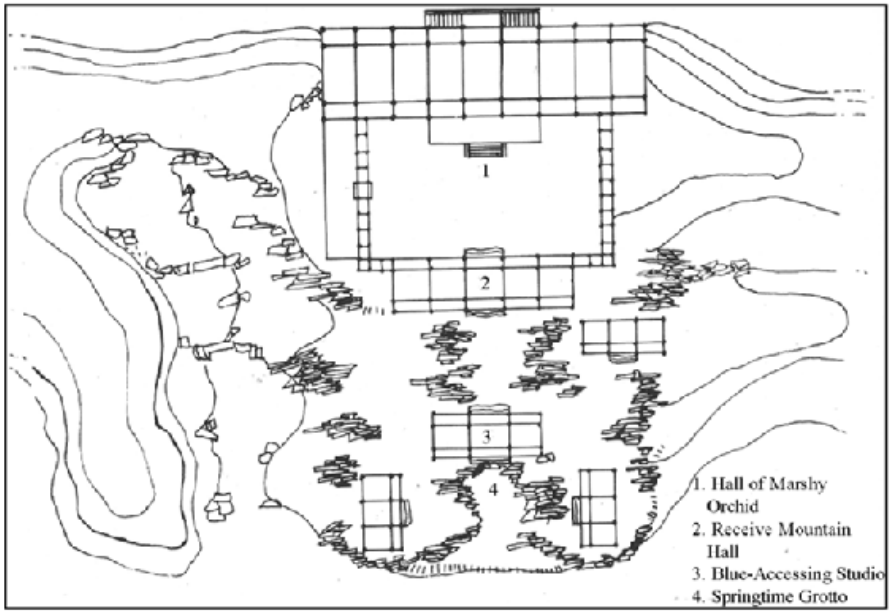


Figure 2.11 Map of Hall of Marshy Orchids *(Zelan Tang)*. (Siu family collection).

REVOLVING FRAGRANT SAILS (*ZHUANXIANG FAN*)

One of the seldom mentioned complexes nestled among artificial hills to the east of the Marshy Orchid Hall was the Revolving Fragrant Sails.[171] It complements the Precious Likeness Temple complex in the northwest. The pair serves as the east and west bookends, respectively, to the centrally-placed Marshy Orchid Hall on the north-south axis of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.[172] The square-shaped main structure consisted of a southern building bearing the complex's name joined by north-south corridors at each end which led to its northern counterpart. But what the Qianlong emperor envisioned for it remains unclear. The fact, however, that all the other structures positioned on this hilly northern strip facing the heart of the Garden of Everlasting Spring are Buddhist and Daoist complexes points to the emperor's utilization of feng shui practices: positioning another venue with strong, beneficent, protective powers to block any negative northern forces. The placement of these temples on this cardinal point also seems to indicate that Qianlong's original design for the Garden of Everlasting Spring did not include the addition of the European sector as a border.

THE EUROPEAN SECTOR

Small, at only about 19.2 acres,[173] the narrow northern part of the Garden of Everlasting Spring was an important venue, because the Qianlong emperor ordered ten European-style palaces with multiple dependent buildings and gardens specially erected there. (Fig. 2.12)[174] He envisioned it as another dimension to his private garden annex, specifically as a venue for his extended family and leisure activities. Its design facilitated scholarly activities that reflected his enthusiasms and private concerns. The project was under the joint architectural direction of two Jesuits, Castiglione and Michel Benoist (*Jiang Youren*, 1715-1774), who supervised the Chinese artisans who constructed it.

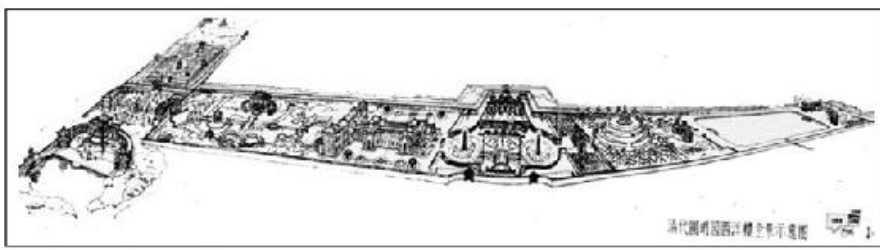


Figure 2.12 Map of European Sector *(Xiyanglou)*. (Siu family collection).

Planning began in 1747 (twelfth year of the Qianlong reign) and the first construction in the western Delights of Harmony Palace area commenced two years later. Between these two stages were the search for and the choice of suitable vistas. After these decisions were made, selecting poetic names for the property further transformed them into a venue embodying the imperial creator.[175] In the case of the European sector, these initial processes were halted in 1751 for personal and political reasons connected to the sudden death of the emperor's beloved wife, the Xiaoxian empress. She had died in 1748. While mourning, the Qianlong emperor feared he might lose his close connections to his Manchu roots, which his empress had represented. Furthermore, a political scandal regarding the shaving of hair, a mourning ritual, ensued.[176] The emperor planned to erect a European building within the Garden of Perfect Brightness annex because of his desire to imitate the Western models he had seen in engravings from European books. Yet he was torn between his original culture, which he no doubt valued, and his love of Chinese and other foreign cultures. He was also criticized at this time for his extravagance in both his building projects and in his Southern tours. Perhaps he had wanted to model proper behavior for his Manchu and Chinese courtiers, and so suspended building for a while.

By 1756, however, Qianlong had evidently resolved his leadership

role and identity enough to launch the sector's second stage on the east-west strip of land that stretched eastward from the initial area on a north-south axis. The Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records indicate that after Castiglione's death, the Qianlong emperor ordered a final addition, the Distant Continents Lodge (*Yuanying Guan*) in 1783.[177] In 1860, the Anglo-French troops burned down the entire Garden of Perfect Brightness and Garden of Everlasting Spring, but some stone or marble elements of the European sector survived.[178]

Since a Chinese garden is an extension of its creator, not only the process of the creation of the European sector, but also its depictions, usages, and, of course, design, reveal the multifaceted persona of its owner and what he perceived a Chinese garden to be. Shortly after 1783, the emperor ordered depictions of the European sector.[179] Twenty copperplates of the European sector were made by Chinese artisans according to sketches by the court painter Yi Lantai.[180] Some authors credit Castiglione with drawing the rough draft for them.[181] The recently published Garden of Perfect Brightness Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records for the Imperial Painting Academy (*Ruyi Guan*) clarify that in 1756, the Qianlong emperor ordered Castiglione to draft the Western-style garden's first site plan of the Delights of Harmony Palace area. After the emperor approved, it was handed over to the Garden of Perfect Brightness's Construction Office (*Gongcheng Chu*) to build according to the plan.[182] Probably Yi referred to these plans and already existing copperplates for his twenty engravings, which exhibit knowledge of Western perspective, even though it was not always observed. The Jesuit artists certainly assisted some Chinese court artists in learning perspective and copper engraving, skills unfamiliar to them. The finished engravings of the *Twenty Scenes* were each approximately 23 inches high by 37 inches wide. Although Castiglione did not live to see the engravings completed, the Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records of 1752 and 1754 (sixteenth and eighteenth years of the Qianlong reign) include directives about his paintings and the Western-style copperplate engravings of the Garden of Everlasting Spring's fountain buildings.[183]

Yi Lantai's sketches showed full frontal views of the major structures together with their Jesuit-designed settings. Since these depictions are landscapes, one must not expect architectural or design accuracy. The artist at times moved details, inserted vegetation, or exaggerated proportions for visual purposes.[184]

The European sector's usages further facilitate understanding of how the Qianlong emperor saw it as a further projection of his persona. Within a scholar's garden the different venues were used for activities that reflected the individual's private concerns and

enthusiasm. To fulfill his social obligations, the emperor ordered novel settings for entertaining his extended family of princes or court ladies. To garner the proper reclusive spirit from nature and to maintain a proper perspective, Qianlong approved the inclusion of varied plants, bodies of water, and high places throughout his gardens. Moreover, the Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records reveal he engaged extensively in the scholarly activity of patronizing the arts by ordering numerous decorative objects to suitably embellish the unique European-style venues. Above all, he indulged in his penchant for garden building, by specifically challenging himself and his architects to harmoniously integrate a seemingly foreign sector with the Chinese sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring.

Major Chinese garden elements, incorporated into the European sector to meet with approval from the emperor, demonstrate Castiglione's familiarity with the Chinese taste in garden design and not simply with European designs. Furthermore, Castiglione synthesized well this sector's Western features, such as Italian-style buildings, spouting fountains, and winding staircases with its Chinese elements, a feat convincingly demonstrated by George Loehr in his seminal study and confirmed more recently by a French team.[185]

Descriptions of individual edifices by long-time Western residents in eighteenth century China, like the one provided by the Jesuit François Bourgeois, prove exceptions to the prejudiced and distorted narratives of Europeans in the nineteenth century. The latter were based solely on Western values and design standards.[186] In correspondence with his French friend, L. F. Delatour, Bourgeois characterized the design of the Delights of Harmony Palace in the southwest corner of the European sector (Fig. 2.13) as Italian in style with Chinese touches.[187]

Indeed, the emperor reviewing the *Twenty Scenes* would have been struck immediately by the importance given to the glazed-tile roofs, Chinese in their lines, with birds and fish as well as dragons and mythical creatures as decorative animals. For example, the Delights of Harmony Palace (Scene 1) had a central roof with Chinese lines: covered with green, yellow, aubergine, and blue tiles in the guise of fish scales. Besides baroque decorations, the roof was adorned with dragons and other animals.[188] The pictorial effect for the Qianlong emperor would have been the same as it was for other imperial buildings. The masonry, often of grey brick plastered with stucco and painted purplish red, would likewise remind him of the Forbidden City, especially because polychrome-glazed ceramic tiles and ornaments, in such shapes as flowers and vases, embellished them.

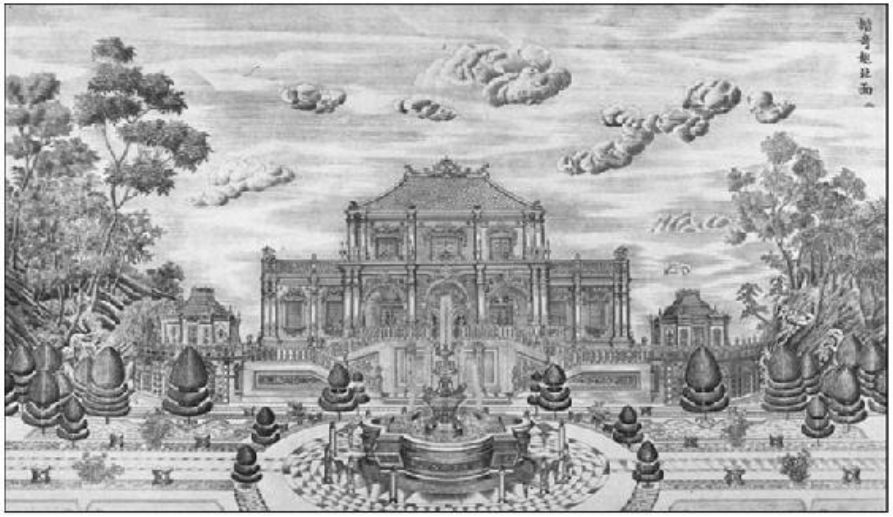


Figure 2.13 Copperplate engraving of the Delights of Harmony Palace *(Xieqiqu)*, 1786, ed. (Jardin de Flore, Paris).

Bourgeois did not notice how the Delights of Harmony Palace also featured Chinese floral designs for the two marble, Western-style spouting fountains. The larger one to the south of the main building was shaped like a flowering Chinese crabapple, while its smaller counterpart to its north was in the form of a chrysanthemum. Moreover, a lengthy 1751 entry in the recently published Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records specifies under the catch-all heading of Remember Things Record (*Jishilu*) that the emperor ordered copious Western articles to enhance the seventeen rooms of the three-storied European sector fountain building positioned to the main structure's north.[189] He also ordered decorative items with Chinese touches or made of Chinese materials for this palace and most major structures.[190] At this first palace, a throne with an elegantly-carved back screen designed by Castiglione and carved from wood of a rare laurel tree (*nanmu*) with gilded designs and inlaid glass, must have been used by the emperor when he and the princes listened to concerts and observed the bronze animals spouting in the first Western-style fountains completed in this European sector.[191] Qianlong wanted this garden to represent his desire to rule the diverse peoples he governed harmoniously. Accordingly, members of the imperial department of music performed Chinese, European, Islamic, Tibetan, and Mongolian compositions at this venue during festivals.[192]

In sum, the design of the European sector's buildings,[193] fountains, and decorative objects were European-styled, often with Chinese touches. In contrast, the subsequent section demonstrates that the sector's overall design was largely Chinese. Though it occupied only a small, narrow, horizontal T-shaped strip of the Garden of Everlasting

Spring,[194] Castiglione, like earlier creators of Suzhou gardens when challenged by a small area, managed to integrate into it all the major elements of garden design. For example, Ji Cheng, in his major 1634 treatise on garden tastes and building, entitled *The Craft of Gardens* (*Yuanye*), emphasized the importance not only of architecture, but also of water and rocks in garden design. Furthermore, Castiglione observed the principles of balancing yin (water) with yang (rocks or hills) to maintain harmony (*he*) through natural elements. Lastly, he positioned his major architectural elements along the north-south or east-west axes. Where they intersected, of course, he designed the most impressive scenes.

Because he was familiar with the principle of the importance of water in garden design, Castiglione created ingenious varied water scenes, ranging from the huge tree-lined Rectangular Lake (Scene Twenty), totaling about one-sixth of the area, to four very different large spouting fountains (Scenes One, Two, Ten, and Fifteen), including the horological one consisting of his twelve bronze statues with animal heads and human bodies, representing the Twelve Branches (*shierzhi*). The water clock was positioned west of the Peaceful Seas Hall (*Haiyan Tang*) (Scene Ten). (Fig. 2.14) Two reservoirs, which also housed hydraulics in European-style, baroque buildings (Scenes Three, Eleven to Thirteen), supplied the water for the fountains and for the two Chinese-style streams bordered by irregular rocks, the one flowing around the Labyrinth (*Wanhuazhen*) (Scene Five), and the other meandering around the Belvedere (Scene Eight).

In the *Twenty Scenes* of the European sector, it is harder to detect Castiglione's rockery than it is the water. A set of tall knife-shaped rocks, tastefully placed to fill the awkward void between the wall of the Belvedere and the curve of the steps (Scene Eight),[195] is another example of the blending of East and West. (Fig. 2.15) More important, a pair of ornamental spirit rocks set on marble bases were placed in front of the Aviary (Scene Six). These prominent, over seven feet tall, bizarre-shaped rocks called jellyfish-shaped, mountain offspring (*haizhexing shanzi*) were displayed on stone pedestals.[196] These prized, fantastically-shaped, limestone rocks evoke an aura of mystery and allude to the Daoist Isles of the Immortals.

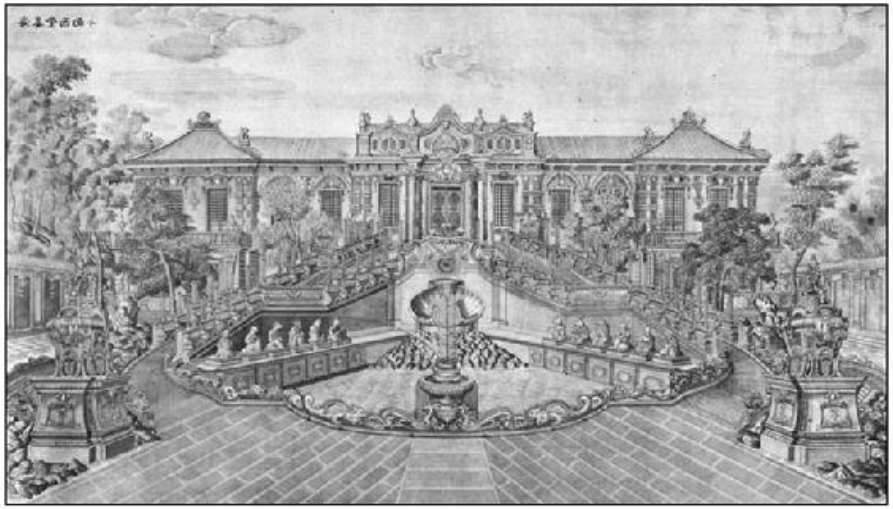


Figure 2.14 Copperplate engraving of west side of Peaceful Seas Hall (*Haiyan Tang*) with Horological Fountain, 1786, ed. (Jardin de Flore, Paris).

The several artificial hills created in the European sector, just as the many in the larger southern Chinese sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring, are essential elements in Chinese gardening. As indicated, they enabled creators of gardens to observe distant views from heights, thus maintaining proper historical perspectives on the present and future. Today, only a small hill remains of the Perspective Hill (*Xianfa Shan*) (Scene Eighteen), positioned in the eastern half of the east-west axis.

To appreciate how successfully the Jesuits grasped other principles of Chinese garden design, it is necessary to note that in a Chinese garden, one should feel compactness in a spacious one and spaciousness in a small one. Therefore, gardens should allow for both in-position and in-motion viewing to make a given area seem either compact or expansive. The scenery should also be scaled to give the illusion of depth. Finally, only parts should be seen, not the whole garden at once.[197] A stroll through the European sector revealed[198] the Jesuits' mastery of in-motion viewing; they made each small region seem larger than it really was by using geometry and perspective to create the illusion of taller buildings and of vast space. They also judiciously placed wooded hills, pavilions, and inclines in the European sector. Of course, they also used arches, gates, and trees to define certain spaces, conceal adjoining scenes, and entice the emperor to follow a lengthy, paved road, largely along the central east-west axis, to discover subsequent scenes distributed along it. An example is the eastern facade of the Aviary (Scene Eight) through which one could enter the second section of the European sector.

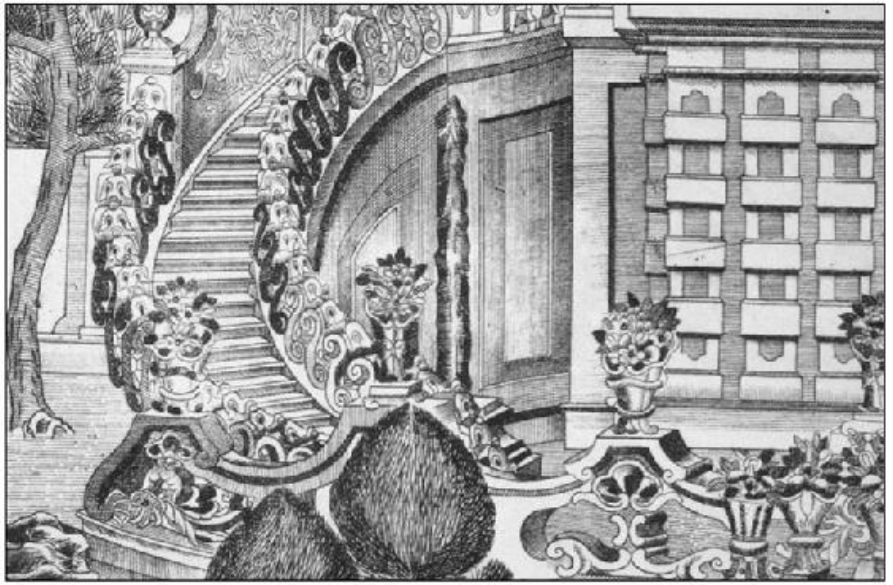


Figure 2.15 Detail of copperplate engraving of Needle Rock, Belvedere, 1786, ed. (Jardin de Flore, Paris).

Previous studies seem to have missed important Chinese elements in the garden namely that Castiglione and his Jesuit collaborators carefully placed the pavilions and viewing areas to fulfill in-position principles as well. Their originality in positioning major scenes in the Chinese manner is even more evident in the pivotal area of the Great Fountains (Scene Fifteen), which drew Qianlong to change from a west-east direction to a north-south axis.[199] The central marble fountain, placed at the intersection of the two axes to indicate its importance, has in its middle the head of a lion spewing water from a height. (Fig. 2.16) Just to its south, however, the larger part of this fountain at ground level depicts a hunting scene, a subject dear to the emperor's heart, to judge from the many paintings depicting him engaged in that activity. A stag, reduced to extremity, launches water from its horns, while a dozen[200] hunting dogs throw jets of water at it from their mouths. On either side and south of this fountain, the second and third fountains were placed like the base angles of an isosceles triangle. They were in the form of a set of pyramids standing on a base carved with fish in relief, in the Chinese style, and called Viewing the True Aspect of the Water Fountains (*Guanshuifa Zhengmian*) (Scene Sixteen).[201] The emperor enjoyed viewing this entire water scene from a marble throne area placed due south of the central spewing lion's head. He may have ordered the Distant Continents Lodge (Scene Fourteen) erected to the fountains' north, after the death of Castiglione, not only to house Beauvais tapestries, but also because of the Chinese notion that the northern direction

denotes privacy.

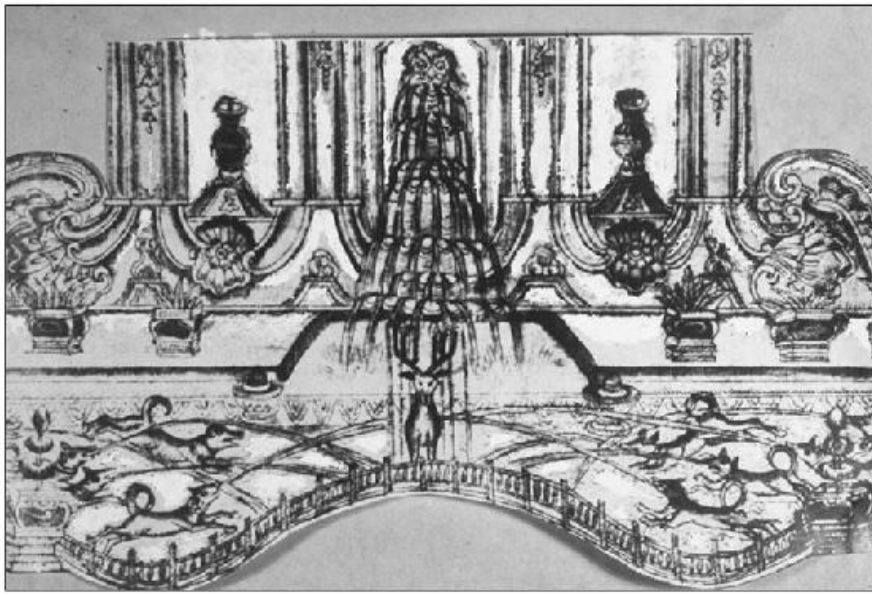


Figure 2.16 Detail of the Great Fountains (*Dashui Fa*), design attributed to Jin Xun. (Siu family collection).

Finally, turning to plants and trees as Han symbols that contribute to the Chinese dimension of the European sector, it is clear that Castiglione was already familiar with the significance of the lotus since he had painted the lotus with its pods and leaves in Assembled Auspicious Pictures (*Jurui Tu*) in 1722, the year the Yongzheng emperor (r. 1723-1735) ascended the throne. With the multi-headed grains and twin lotuses and pods, Castiglione commemorated blessed signs that were said to have appeared in various parts of the empire.[202] In his still-life painting, now at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, he made use of Western chiaroscuro while at the same time employing Chinese media—the shadows are not too heavy nor the highlights too bright—thus achieving an overall subtle harmony.[203] The term for lotus is homophonous with the sound for harmony.[204] Since the lotus is indigenous to China and was well known, before the coming of Buddhism, as the flower of purity and integrity, remaining unstained as it emerges from the mud, Chinese artists, poets, and craftsmen loved to depict its every part. The lotus is also sacred to the Buddhists and is the special symbol of Guanyin.[205] In the European sector the Jesuits fittingly placed two large basins of live lotus flowers and pods among leaves in front of the five bamboo pavilions and the single, centered, simple, fountain (Scene 9). This design enhanced the Chinese character of this scene as it was viewed from the Belvedere.

The Frenchman Gille Genest identified a few of the flowering plants in the place for viewing the Great Fountains (Scene Sixteen). Because of their characteristic leaves, the tree peonies was selected rather than the herbaceous peonies (s *haoyao*) since the tree peony is called the King of Flowers, due to its early and continued association with royalty. Chang'an palaces and the garden at the summer palace at Lishan were especially famous for tree peonies during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Furthermore, it remains the most popular botanical motif of China as well as a favorite literary theme. A deeper meaning derives from one of its many alternate names: flower of wealth and rank (*fuguihua*), which is a pun on the similarly pronounced word "bat" (*fu*), a symbol of happiness. The tree peony is often combined with the magnolia and crab apple to form the auspicious phrase "wealth and rank in the jade hall" (*yutang fugui*): the jade hall was an elegant name for the prestigious Hanlin Academy for scholars.[206] The flowers in this venue indicate that the Qianlong emperor was projecting his Confucian persona as scholar in his Chinese garden.

The theme of immortality found so often in the Garden of Everlasting Spring is further carried out in the European sector by the extensive use there of the Chinese juniper.[207] This tree is associated with the sacred by the traditional practice of bathing oneself in juniper-dipped water before offering sacrifice,[208] as the sound for one of the Chinese terms for this tree (*bai*) is a homonym for the sound that signifies one hundred (*bai*), an auspicious term for longevity.

By studying an 1873 photograph of the northern sector of the Delights of Harmony Palace and comparing it to Scene Two of the engravings, Genest has recently identified this Chinese juniper tree as the one used for clipping into topiaries in the European sector.[209] Indeed, all but three (Scenes One, Four, and Ten) of the twenty engravings contain small, ornamental junipers, usually clipped into three nodes. The main exceptions are the two pairs of towering, nine-noded junipers at the south side of the Great Fountains (Scene Fifteen) and at their viewing area (Scene Sixteen). Because the word for nine has the same sound in Chinese as the word for eternity, it seems reasonable to infer that the Jesuit creators of this garden-within-a-garden selected that number to further carry out the theme of immortality for the Chinese viewer. Significantly, nine also occurs in the Ming dynasty masterpiece, the Temple of Heaven, where Ming and Qing emperors offered sacrifices to Heaven for good harvests: at the southern end of the complex stands the marble Circular Altar where the actual ceremony was held; nine steps lead up to this altar from each point of the axis.

This limited study of some flowers and trees planted in the

European sector augments our understanding of this venue as it demonstrates that Castiglione and his fellow Jesuit creators used their familiarity with Chinese garden aesthetics to fulfill what Ming and Qing artists honored as essential garden principles. One may still wonder why Castiglione ever undertook the difficult task of constructing a European sector in a Chinese garden. The sources attest to the fact that he was commanded to do so by the Qianlong emperor who, after viewing depictions of spouting fountains in Western gardens, challenged him and his colleagues to come up with a similar creation. The answer to why this Jesuit-designed European garden became a hybrid project is more complex. One must consider both the artist and the patron. Castiglione was already an accomplished European artist before his arrival in China. Subsequently, the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors insisted he receive extensive training in Chinese painting styles and adopt most of them. Furthermore, as a Jesuit, his religious training was an integral part of his being. All three strands would perforce influence Castiglione's artistic and architectural expressions. Of utmost importance in analyzing the cause for the European sector's hybridity, one must consider his patron, the Qianlong emperor and his taste. He was a Manchu with Sino-Tibetan tastes, as attested by numerous studies of art objects of his period. For example, we know that he appreciated European perspective, as he commissioned Castiglione to teach the technique to some Chinese colleagues in the Imperial Painting Academy. The European sector was a more challenging tour de force created to satisfy the imperial taste for hybridity. Castiglione largely succeeded in blending East with West in the European sector, and he clearly had absorbed Chinese aesthetics and garden principles to a high degree.

CONCLUSION

At the height of his creative powers, the Qianlong emperor carefully fashioned the square-shaped Chinese sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring after experiencing Han Chinese masterpieces in the Jiangnan region during his Southern Tours. As noted, he likewise ordered a variety of other architectural and garden jewels, including a medallion-shaped island, a Daoist paradise garden, and a European sector for his annex to the main Garden of Perfect Brightness.

The first cardinal element of the entire Garden of Everlasting Spring is the striking island nature of the southern Chinese sector. Though exactly what inspired the emperor's unusual design is unrecorded, imperial records and even scrolls document his repeated visits to and admiration of Hangzhou, with its West Lake (*Xi Hu*), and

of Suzhou, with its many canals. Perhaps the ruler's nautical experiences as well as landscape retreats inspired him to order an entire garden crisscrossed with broad waterways and even lakes only partially spanned by bridges. Indeed, the imperial records of 1756 for the Qianlong emperor reveal that he used boats, not palanquins, as the main mode of transportation in the Garden of Everlasting Spring. Such an extensive Chinese garden design primarily involving water transportation seems unprecedented.

The second major design element noted in the southern sector concerns the positioning of the major islands around the central one on which stood the imperial residence. This arrangement strongly mirrors a widely shared worldview of the traditional Chinese which they have held since the unification of the people in 221 B.C. Along with major socio-political transformations, a profound change occurred in the nature and symbolism of China's various cities and regions, such as Suzhou, the capital of the southeastern state of Wu. Throughout the imperial era, this city, which boasts a history of over two and a half millennia, represented its allegiance and homage to the emperor as the central authority, rather than pursuing hegemony as a separate entity. It was an integral part of "one world."[210] The positioning of the five Suzhou-, Hangzhou-, and Nanjing-inspired gardens around the northeast, southeast, and southwest borders, and the island immediately southwest of the heart of the Garden of Everlasting Spring symbolized the cosmic center radiating imperial benevolence to the cardinal points of the Qianlong emperor's domain.

Some Qing experts have also raised the possibility of a political statement by the Qianlong emperor regarding the positioning of the European sector on the northernmost border. Already examined are three arguments: first, the later timing of the project; second, the destruction of the garden's original square design; and third, the venue's extensive southern water as barrier or means of communication to determine whether the emperor's choice signifies that he regarded the northern barbarians or Europeans as his subjects or whether it sprang from mere exigency, namely, finding a venue to house his newly-found desire for spouting fountains. Nevertheless, a certain ambiguity remains.

Also studied are the shape and numerical symbols of the Chinese sector as further evidence of the careful crafting of the emperor's annex. He ordered a square design, five gardens, and perhaps five temples within it as well as three major islands around the central island. Those familiar with Chinese symbolism immediately recognize them as the three Daoist isles of the Immortals set in the East Sea (*Dong Hai*). Along with a host of Han Chinese and non-Han deities in magnificent temples in his Garden of Everlasting Spring, they no

doubt would assist the chief resident on the central isle in his quest for longevity. Also studied are the significance of the configuration five, the cardinal symbol in two major Han traditions, and the emperor's self-imposed limitation to five Jiangnan-inspired gardens. This restraint reveals not only his familiarity with numerical symbolism, but also his ranking of famed Chinese southern gardens, which he had ordered depicted during his Southern Tours.

Historically, Hangzhou and Suzhou surpassed the other regions of China in several senses. Economically, the whole region south of the Yangzi River, starting with the Tang dynasty, became the richest area for rice production on which the empire depended. Tax records from that time forward reveal that the heartland of that region, Suzhou prefecture, paid the heaviest taxes. It could not, however, rival the capital at Hangzhou during the Southern Song. The well-known proverb: Above in Heaven there is the celestial hall, below on Earth there are Suzhou and Hangzhou (*Tianshang tiantang, dixia Su Han*) reflects the continuing upswing of these two regions. During the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), the Hangzhou region stagnated when the Mongol rulers moved their center to the northern capital of Beijing, but the Suzhou area grew dramatically when the government decided to transport southern grain north by sea. In the two centuries after the transfer in 1421 of the Ming capital from the southern city of Nanjing to Beijing, Suzhou emerged as the economic and cultural center of China's richest and most urbanized region, linked to the other regional centers by the extensively used Grand Canal. Under the continuous development of the Qianlong emperor and other rulers of the Qing, it remained the central and dominant metropolis until Shanghai replaced it in the 1860s after Suzhou's devastation during the Taiping Rebellion.[211]

Social values gradually changed with this economic growth in the Jiangnan region. Suzhou typified the use of capital in that the wealthy largely poured their excess into both land and culture. Since Confucian precepts emphasize learning as paramount, Fan Zhongyan (989-1052) promoted education in the Suzhou area for the first time by establishing a prefectural school in the southern part of the city. During the Qing period, Jiangsu ranked first among the provinces in producing presented scholars (*jinshi*),[212] the title awarded those who passed the highest-level government examination in China. Moreover, book collectors prized Suzhou's quality printed collections. By the late imperial period of the Qianlong emperor, visitors traveled to this city, not only because it was a center for the fine and decorative arts of China, but also for its gardens and religious institutions as well as its theatricals, foods, festivals, and pleasure boats.[213]

The above economic and cultural review demonstrates why

Jiangnan figured large in Qianlong's view. More important, the Chinese sector of the Garden of Everlasting Spring expressed the emperor depicting himself symbolically at the center of both the high and popular cultures of his peoples. The gardens inspired by Jiangsu regional centers, particularly Suzhou and Hangzhou, which are positioned around the source, receive the higher imperial benevolence and, in turn, glorify it as the epitome of Chinese culture. Whether the extravagance in lifestyle recorded by critics of Suzhou and the Qianlong emperor should dominate our judgments of the two seems distorted, given their undisputed cultural legacies to China. The emperor's recorded activities, especially his in-motion inspecting of his garden, represented inspecting the entire empire, because the garden represented his cosmos. Understanding this concept reinforces an assessment of the Qianlong emperor's political acumen in using the Garden of Everlasting Spring annex of his Garden of the World in Miniature (*Tianxia Penjing*) to symbolize his control over the diverse peoples he ruled. Moreover, the documentary and artistic treasures stored in this annex and elsewhere point to the undeniable fact that the emperor had a tremendous impact on Chinese cultural history from the eighteenth century onward.

NOTES

1. Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 379.
2. Robert Harrist, Jr., *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 4-5.
3. Xu Yinong, *The Chinese City in Space and Time: The Development of Urban Form in Suzhou* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 23-27, 106.
4. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2, passim. The *Lan Ting* garden in Zhejiang, which utilizes an extensive nautical setting, might also have inspired the emperor's Chinese sector. Lily Chen Kecskes, Interview with author. Freer and Sackler Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., March 6, 2000.
5. Xu, *The Chinese City in Space and Time*, 2-3, 9, 123.
6. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 276.
7. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 233.
8. Mary Rankin, Traditional China Colloquium of Greater Washington, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., February 12, 2000.
9. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 186-87.
10. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 108.

11. Jiao Xiong, "*Changchun Yuan yuanlin jianzhu*" (Changchun Yuan's architecture), *Yuanming Yuan*, 3 (1984): 12, says one-fifth as large. Some authors inaccurately estimate the annex is one-third the size of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Yet another source, *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 26, states the Garden of Everlasting Spring is 168 acres.

12. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 26.

13. Ibid., 26. Régine Thiriez, "The Qianlong Emperor's European Palaces," in *The Delights of Harmony: The European Palaces of the Yuanmingyuan and the Jesuits at the 18th Century Court of Beijing*. Catalog of an exhibition February 15 to April 10, 1994. Curated by Ellen Lawrence and Karen Turner (Worcester: College of Holy Cross, 1994), 6, states that in 1747 Qianlong asked Castiglione about a European fountain. The first *Neiwufu Ruyi Guan* entry for a painting destined for the annex is *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 1313, 316 (twenty-seventh day of the sixth Chinese month, twelfth year of the Qianlong reign), Painting Academy.

14. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 26.

15. Jiao, "Changchun Yuan," 12.

16. Albert E. Dien, "Chinese Beliefs in the Afterworld," in *The Quest for Eternity*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art and Chronicle Books, 1987), 1-15.

17. Wang Yi, *Yuanlin yu Zhongguo wenhua* [Gardens and Chinese culture] (Shanghai: *Shanghai renmin chubanshe*, 1990), cited in a review of Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, by Timothy Brook, *American Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (June 1998): 941-42. See also Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

18. Almost always fashioned of wood, the structures were, with few exceptions, totally destroyed by the Anglo-French forces in 1860.

19. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 847-909.

20. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 400-407. However, a more recent bilingual volume, *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 8, uses the second name for the central island, which totaled only 10.8 acres.

21. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 28.

22. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 13. Illustration, ibid., 20. This sketch is one of a set of six venues. Jiao Xiong, a member of Beijing Haidian area's Cultural Relics, provided this and other sketches of the Chinese sectors in the southern Garden of Everlasting Spring. He based these depictions on a map of the Garden of Perfect Brightness's three gardens provided by Jin Xun, who worked in the Garden of Perfect Brightness during the reign of the Guangxu 光緒 emperor (r. 1875-1905), and on unspecified related materials. The article by Jiao also included details of the garden and court life provided in oral accounts from eunuch eyewitnesses. The Garden of Perfect Brightness

scholar, Zhao Guanghua, likewise uses materials from "old Mr. Jin" (1882-1976) in his Garden of Everlasting Spring article entitled "*Changchun Yuan jianzhu ji yuanlin huamu zhi yixie ziliao*" (Some reference materials for architectural layout and garden plants in the *Chungchun Yuan*), *Yuanming Yuan*, 3 (1984): 1.

23. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 14.

24. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 8.

25. Zhao, "Changchun Yuan," 2. The venue was completed in the twenty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign. Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, in *The Rise of Modern China*, 5th edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 40-41, assessed the conquest as "a great military accomplishment by any standard."

26. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2, 1343, no. 386, eleventh day of the first Chinese month, eighteenth year of the Qianlong reign, Enamel Department.

27. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 400-401.

28. Found mostly in the vast drainage areas of Lake Tai (*taihu*), west of Suzhou in the Jiangsu region, these limestone rocks, formed underwater by years of erosion, are prized as garden rocks for their fresh, soft colors and their multiple linked hollows, which give them an open appearance.

29. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 14; Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 2.

30. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 8.

31. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 1319, no. 330, (sixteenth day of the ninth Chinese month, thirteenth year of the Qianlong reign), Painting Academy. The model was to be a depiction in oil of part of the covered corridor located in the Fragrant Hill's (*Xiang Shan*) Garden of Quiet Delight (*Jingyi Yuan*).

32. Ibid., 2: 1373, no. 452 (eighth day of the fifth Chinese month, twenty-third year of the Qianlong reign), Painting Academy.

33. Ink cakes or inksticks are compressed black pigments used by scholars for painting or calligraphy. Fine ones like these imperial ink cakes bore engraved copies of landscapes or inscriptions.

34. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 14; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 403.

35. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 28.

36. Wang based his calligraphic style on the movements of geese. He liked to watch them so much that when he copied the *Daode Jing* for the Daoists, a priest gave him a cage of rare geese in return.

37. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 28. It is said that at times he even ordered Mongolian yurts or *gers* set up to hold banquets for these dignitaries.

38. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 19-20.

39. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 431.

40. *Nanxun shengdian* (Official Account of the Southern Tours), 66

boxes/ *zhuan*, 120 volumes, 1771, Rare Books Library, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. *Shizi Lin*, vol. 55, 6-7.

41. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 30-32.

42. Liu Dunzhen, *Chinese Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, trans. Chen Lixian; English text ed. Joseph C. Wang (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1992), 105. It was later a temple.

43. Wang Fushan, "*Wen Yuan de zaoyuan yishu*" (The art of building the Wen Yuan), 30, *Old Gardens Journal*, provided to the author by Zhao Guanghua.

44. Ibid.

45. Ni Zan's *Lion Grove in Suzhou* is reproduced as Fig. 612 in Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1994), 466. (I had the privilege of examining the original, now in the imperial collection of the Beijing Palace Museum, in June 1995.)

46. Wang, a critic of the Garden of Everlasting Spring's Lion Grove, in "Wen Yuan," cites an unidentified rumor that the Qianlong emperor really felt his first garden was an improper version of its model. Hence his second attempt.

47. Wang, "*Wen Yuan*," 32-34. A Chinese guide demonstrated how to regulate the garden water for me and other tourists in a tiny model of the Fisherman's Net Garden's water system in Suzhou.

48. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 30-31.

49. Edward H. Schafer, "Hunting Parks," 329-33.

50. Hu Dongchu, *The Way of the Virtuous: The Influence of Art and Philosophy on Chinese Garden Design* (Beijing: New World Press, 1991), 81; Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 253-54.

51. Dien, "Chinese Beliefs in the Afterworld," 1-3.

52. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 6; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 437. However, the Chengde Lion Grove scholar, Wang, in "*Wen Yuan*," 31, omits the zigzag bridge across the central lake, which is a memorable element in the Suzhou model. Also Zhao uses the term Word Bridge (*Zi Qiao*) for this and other zigzag bridges.

53. The exact location of the fishpond is unclear given the above authors' differing schematics of the Lion Grove's water and even some structures. Ni Yunlin was the alternate name of Ni Zan.

54. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 6. Wang, "*Wen Yuan*," 34, likewise details the emperor's careful plant selection for his Chengde Lion Grove.

55. Huang and Huang, *Yuanming Yuan*, 145, state that numerous repairs for the Garden of Everlasting Spring were ordered by the Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶 (r. 1796-1820) who succeeded the Qianlong emperor. They demonstrate his keen appreciation of all sectors of this annex as well as of the Garden of Perfect Brightness itself. His

successor, the Daoguang emperor, composed a poem inspired by the Lion Grove, entitled "*Haze*." Inscribed in his handwriting on a recently recovered stone tablet, it is now located at the Garden of Perfect Brightness Exhibition Hall. See *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 30.

56. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 432-33.

57. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 5-6.

58. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 431. They also find the restored Suzhou Lion Grove too oppressive and overly constricted, resulting in a sense that the rocks protrude inordinately. In contrast, Jiao, in "*Changchun Yuan*," 19, faults the paucity of precious lake stones at the *Chang chun Yuan*'s garden; only the outer more visible stones were spirit rocks. However, He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 433, seem to contradict this criticism in their explanation of how Chinese constructed artificial hills. First, they mounded an earthen base, then covered it with readily available local blue stones before selectively placing the far more costly Suzhou stones on the surface.

59. Zhao Guanghua, interview with author, Beijing, China, June 6, 1995.

60. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 3-4.

61. Though Zhao, ibid., 3, says about fifty-three acres, He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 423, state about forty-seven acres.

62. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 848-49 (sixteenth and eighteenth days of the fourth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign). In Ming times, only a travel lodge had existed there.

63. Ibid., 2: 848 (sixteenth day of the fourth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign).

64. Ibid., 2: 848-49 (seventeenth day of the fourth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign). According to Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 304-305, Empress Xiaoduan occupied an esteemed position in Hung Taiji's household. He bestowed the Empress title on her in 1636, during the period when Hung Taiji adopted many Chinese customs and titles.

65. Ibid., 2: 848 (eighteenth day of the fourth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign).

66. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 17. According to He and Zeng, *Yuanming yuan*, 423, this Green Lotus Flower stone survived all the domestic and foreign disturbances marking the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Now located at the Sun Yatsen Garden (*Zhongshan Gongyuan*), it is a fitting symbol of permanence amidst the turmoil of history.

67. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 4.

68. Ibid., 3; Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 17.

69. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 4.

70. Ellen J. Laing, interview with author, San Diego, Calif., March

11, 2000.

71. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 4; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 423. Zhao identifies the *mujin* hibiscus as a vermillion hibiscus especially obtained from the South Lake (*Nan Hai*).

72. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 172, 328. The Chinese eat wild or cultivated fungi for their beneficent powers.

73. He and Zeng, *Yuanming yuan*, 407.

74. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 890 (fifteenth day of the seventh Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign).

75. Zhao provides a fuller passage than the others, but his explanation remains largely incomprehensible without Guo Junlun's text accompanying the depiction of the Little Bit of Heaven Garden in the description of the Qianlong emperor's 1765 Southern Tour. Zhao states the source as *Gaozong ji* (Emperor Gaozong's Record) in "*Changchun Yuan*," 2. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 16-17, more clearly identifies the passage's source as *Hongli's Xiao You Tian Yuan ji* (The Hongli emperor's record of the Little Bit of Heaven Garden). Guo, *Qingdai yuanlin tulu*, 101 [text], 103-104 [picture]; *Nanxun shengdian*, 1771.

76. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 2.

77. Guo, *Qingdai yuanlin tulu*, 101.

78. Jiao, in "*Changchun Yuan*," 17, goes so far as to call its famed artificial hills, ravines, caves and cascading waterfall, masterpieces, Heaven's Work (*tiangong*).

79. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 407. One could also enter it via another entrance from the northwest.

80. Ibid., 407; Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 16-17.

81. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 407.

82. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 16-17.

83. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 2.

84. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 16.

85. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 407.

86. They were pearls, a musical stone, a coin, a rhombus, books, paintings, a rhinoceros horn, and an Artemisia leaf or yarrow. Many see them as the eight treasures of Confucianism.

87. They were a fan, a sword, a bottle gourd, castanets, a flower basket, a bamboo cane, a flute, and a lotus. Also the Eight Trigrams (*Bagua*) of the Book of Changes (*Yi Jing*), allegedly developed by Duke of Zhou (*Zhou Gong*) of the Zhou dynasty's (c. 1122-256 B.C.) foundational years. Confucius greatly revered the Duke of Zhou who was the most important political advisor of his brother, King Wu 武 of Zhou, and then served as regent for his young nephew.

88. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 91, 298. They

were the sea slug, the umbrella, the canopy, the lotus, the vase, the fish, the endless knot, and the wheel of learning.

89. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 412. Known in the Ming times simply as West Garden (*Xihua Yuan*), the emperor renamed it the Garden of the Respectful Gaze on one of his Southern Tours.

90. Zhao Guanghua, Interview with author, Beijing, China, June 14, 1995. Unfortunately, none of the Chinese scholars of the Garden of Perfect Brightness provide a clear comparison of the According to Wishes Garden in relation to both Nanjing models. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 412, state that the According to Wishes Garden's surroundings and size differ from the *Zhan Yuan*, but provide no specifics. Zhao's otherwise fine study of the Garden of Everlasting Spring only mentions the According to Wishes Garden's location and setting in "*Changchun Yuan*," 5. Hence one must glean data of the two Nanjing gardens from other sources in order to understand what inspired the Qianlong emperor.

91. Zhang Jiaji, *Zhongguo yuanlin yishu da cidian* (Chinese garden art dictionary) (Taiyuan: *Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe*, 1997), 419-20.

92. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 16. A fine restoration of the *Zhan Yuan* took place from 1960-1966, enabling some comparisons.

93. Wu Zhaozhao, *Duo tiangong zhongguo yuanlin lilun yishu yingzao wenji* (For the art excelling nature—collected works on Chinese gardens) (Beijing: *Zhongguo jianzhugongye chubanshe*, 1992), 76-78.

94. Ibid., 16.

95. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 414.

96. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 14-16.

97. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 415.

98. Ibid.

99. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 16.

100. Ibid., 15.

101. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 5.

102. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 15-16; Huang and Huang, *Yuanming Yuan*, map, follows 150 and list follows, 148. He and Zeng have no mention of this Chinese Parasol Tree Study or the vegetation.

103. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 412.

104. Ibid.; Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 14.

105. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, map, 412; but Jiao makes the pond rectangular, ibid., Fig. 2, 15.

106. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 5.

107. Zhao Guanghua, interview with author, Beijing, China, June 14, 1995, and his article, "*Changchun Yuan*," 5.

108. Li Zhen, *Chinese Goldfish* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1988), 13-15, 24-25, 44.

109. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 14; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*,

412. The author also noted large intricately carved marble basins, which survived the 1860 fires, in the northern European sector as well. These containers confirm the presence of goldfish.

110. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 14.

111. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 316-17.

112. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, features the court artists' drawings of famous Chinese gardens executed for the Yongzheng emperor.

113. Hu, *The Way of the Virtuous*, 103-104.

114. The Chinese held that the departed soul was able to return to an intact body. The tomb therefore was treated as a comfortable residence where people could meet and communicate with departed ancestors. See Dien, "Chinese Beliefs in the Afterworld," 11.

115. This is an alchemist tradition, dating from Bao Puzi, a fourth century Daoist philosopher. See Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 234-37.

116. Quoted by Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 19.

117. Immediately to the east of the central building was a tiny kou (口 or mouth)-shaped courtyard. See Ibid., 18.

118. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 410. According to Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 5, a small reading room was immediately accessible to the west.

119. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 1440, no. 593 (nineteenth day of the fifth Chinese month, thirtieth year of the Qianlong reign), Painting Academy.

120. Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 379.

121. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 410. On this courtyard's southeast was the winding pool with white Chinese marble railings where the emperor bathed. The building for bathing was called a tiny or mustard plant boat (*jiezhou*). See Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 5. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 410, identify it as a swimming pool. The latter also refer to a poem by the Qianlong emperor in which he likens this small, irregularly-shaped place as looking like an inverted water cup or the indentations in a mountain range.

122. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 410.

123. The fish reached a length of four to five feet as anyone caught poaching them was beaten to death. See Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 5. According to Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 41-42, black has no negative connotations in China since it is associated with the element water that puts out fire. In the Chinese theater eight heroes with blackened faces represent honorable men, though rough and ready.

124. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 146-47.

125. Lawton L. Shurtleff and Christopher Savage, *The Wood Duck and the Mandarin: The Northern Wood Ducks* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 20-24, 175-76. Illustration, ibid., 122. All ducks are emblems of happiness..

126. Toshiro Inaji, *The Garden as Architecture: Form and Spirit in the Gardens of Japan, China and Korea* (New York: Kodansha, 1998), 111-12.

127. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 410.

128. Jiao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 19.

129. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 425.

130. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 2.

131. Zhao still uses this name though He and Zeng refer to it on their schematic/map by a later homophonous term meaning Fragrant Flowing Islet (*Liuxiang Zhu*).

132. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 425.

133. Ibid. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 3, states fine paved bricks.

134. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 2.

135. Ibid., but He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 425, say marble. (Ed. Note: Te Mule of the University of Nanjing and his colleagues think it could have been glass imported from Europe.)

136. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 2-3.

137. Ibid., 3, According to Zhao the destruction of this site was certainly facilitated by the addition by the Empress Dowager Cixi of a 54-foot, wooden bridge which linked the western dock of the medallion-shaped island to the western shore. The editors of *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 29, specify the devastation occurred, not in 1860 because of the island's relative lack of accessibility, but in the chaos associated with the Boxer Uprising of 1900. Visitors today can again appreciate the restored round marble foundation amid the water.

138. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 425.

139. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 115-16.

140. Ellen J. Laing, interview with author, San Diego, Calif., March 11, 2000.

141. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 421. Such a bronze immortal on a platform survived the 1860 conflagration and looting of the Garden of Perfect Brightness.

142. *A Guidebook for Christians on Taiwanese Customs and Superstitions*, trans. Ardon Albrecht. (Taipei: [Presbyterian Church of Taiwan], 1965), 32. See also *Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2003), 5:261-62, which gives several alternate meanings, including the mother of the living emperor and the mother of Laozi.

143. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 425.

144. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 135-36, 182-83

145. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 391; Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 1.

146. Zhao, 1, calls them Qilin 麒麟. According to He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 392, one of the pair toppled when the Anglo-French forces looted and destroyed the Garden of Perfect Brightness in 1860. A similar fate befell the second figure in the 1900 turmoil, but a thief managed to make off with it. The surviving mythical animal now guards the Benevolence and Longevity Hall (*Renshou Dian*) in the Summer Palace.

147. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 1.

148. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 400.

149. Ibid., 391-92.

150. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 868-69 (first day of the sixth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign).

151. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 428.

152. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 6; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 428. The one in the Garden of Everlasting Spring was apparently pillaged and destroyed by some Chinese rather than by Anglo-French troops in 1860.

153. Ibid. The tiled pagoda rested on a six-yard, square-shaped stone base with white Chinese marble railings, which elevated the pagoda an additional three and a half feet.

154. Yama even vowed to protect devotees. See Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 264-66.

155. The other one on the Eternal Thought Studio island is directly south of the Temple of the Wisdom of the Buddhist Law.

156. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 428. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 6, identifies this northern building as the World of the Buddha's Fragrance Street (*Puxiangjie*) the term He and Zeng use for the mountain gate. Zhao alone identifies the deities honored within the Great and Multiple Protective Blessings.

157. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 6.

158. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 428.

159. Ibid.; Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 6.

160. Zhao uses the character 吼; the obscure character used by Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 244, begins with the dog or *quan* radical. Williams explains the *hou* symbolizes the divine supremacy exercised by Guanyin over the forces of nature.

161. Ibid., 241-44. The deity Avalokitesvara is incarnated in the person of the Dalai Lama. Guanyin is occasionally depicted as a woman with small feet.

162. One recalls the Qianlong emperor was depicted washing a white elephant.

163. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 170,

334-35, 392.

164. According to Zhao, in "*Changchun Yuan*," 6, four sculpted figures venerated within three adjoining smaller rooms served as guardian deities. They were a blue dragon, a white tiger, a vermillion sparrow (*que/qiao*), and a black military official. For the Jade Emperor, see also He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 428.

165. The second is Dao Jun who controls the relations of the yin and yang while the third is Laozi. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 393-94.

166. Ibid.; Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 153-54.

167. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 428, 431.

168. It was commonly called Precious Hardwood Hall (*nanmu dian*). See Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 7.

169. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, Figs. 5-61, 431; text, 428, 431. Though this grotto is no longer extant, its broken sign survives.

170. According to Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars, its loss rates as a real casualty in the history of Chinese garden art.

171. This venue's middle term is replaced by *xiang* 湘 by He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 397, which might then mean Send Forth the Xiang River's Sails or Boats.

172. Ibid., 400. Unfortunately, none of the Garden of Perfect Brightness Chinese scholars detail any particulars of this place other than its site and architectural elements.

173. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 33.

174. For a fuller discussion of the blending of East and West in this sector, see Victoria Siu, "China and Europe Intertwined: A New View of the European Sector of the *Changchun Yuan*," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes, Chinese Landscapes II*, 19, no. 3/4 (July-December 1999): 376-93.

175. Harrist, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China*, 97.

176. At this time, the emperor was also heavily criticized for extravagance during his first Southern Tour. For a full discussion of the various crises, see Kutcher, "The Death of the Xiaoxian Empress," 708-25.

177. Thiriez, "The Qianlong Emperor's European Palaces," 9, has too early a date, 1768, for the last building.

178. Between 1977 and 1992, the European sector was restored in the sense that the area was cleaned: the ruins of buildings and fountains were reclaimed from scattered locations and returned to their sites, and the Labyrinth rebuilt.

179. Thiriez, "The Qianlong Emperor's European Palaces," 12.

180. *Yuanming Yuan Park*, 33.

181. Huang and Huang, *Yuanming Yuan*, 145.

182. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials* 2: 1359, no. 419 (eleventh

day of the fourth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign), Painting Academy.

183. Ibid. 2: 1330, no. 356 (nineteenth day of the fifth Chinese month, sixteenth year of the Qianlong reign), Painting Academy; ibid. 2: 1348-49, no. 397 (eighth day of the eleventh Chinese month, eighteenth year of the Qianlong reign), Painting Academy, respectively.

184. The few early photographs of the ruins of these same twenty views allow some correction of these artistic liberties, but only give meager hints as to the fountains in their prime, the extraordinary topiaries and blossoms at each locale, and, indeed, the total vista the Qianlong emperor appreciated.

185. George R. Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) pittore di corte di Ch'ien-Lung, imperatore della Cina* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1940). A major study by a French team, headed by Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Sersteven, has admirably analyzed this sector in a study entitled *Le Yuanmingyuan: Jeux d'eau et palais européens du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1987). (Hereafter cited as *Le Yuanmingyuan*.) A recent cogent analysis by Geremie R. Barmé of the entire Garden of Perfect Brightness with a brief glance at the European sector clarifies that this sector's western-style buildings, the first extended attempt to amalgamate Chinese and Western architectural motifs, were the final part of the Qianlong emperor's desire to bring the whole world within his grasp. This contrasts with Barmé's argument that later emperors perhaps found the spouting fountains a perversion. See Barmé, "The Garden of Perfect Brightness," 111-58. Yet Joseph Needham in *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, *Physics and Physical Technology*, part II: *Mechanical Engineering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 132-34, points out that it is not difficult to show evidence of the use of fountains in China from almost every century after the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220).

186. In Achille Poussielgue, *Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie*, 125-29, he briefly records an 1860–1861 eyewitness account of the principal European buildings, as described by the minister to France, M. de Bourboulon, and his wife. The familiarity of these Western eyewitnesses with notable French palaces and architectural components in garden settings contrasts markedly to their discomfort with the European sector's exoticism, like their use of the terms "harem" and "very strange constructions" in this "most curious region." Such distorted impression by Westerners who were completely unfamiliar with Chinese architecture is fairly typical of other nineteenth century Europeans who published descriptions of individual buildings in this sector. See accounts of the Peaceful Seas

Hall by Antonie Fauchery, “Lettre de Pékin,” Octobre 13, 1860, *Le Moniteur Universel* (Paris) 362 (Décembre 28, 1860): 1353, and by F. Castano, *L’Expédition de Chine. Relation physique, topographie et médicale de la campagne de 1860 et 1861* (Paris: V. Rozier, 1864), 159.

187. L.-F. Delatour, *Essais sur l’architecture des Chinois, sur leurs jardins, leurs principles de medicine et leurs moeurs et usages* (Paris: Imprimerie de Clousier, 1803), 173-74. Unpublished translation by John T. P. Siu.

188. Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione*, 87.

189. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials* 2: 1324-25, no. 345 (thirteenth day of the fifth Chinese month, fifteenth year of the Qianlong reign). In ibid. 2: 1382, no. 476 (third day of the seventh Chinese month, twenty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign), Painting Academy, we learn that some of the items proved unsuitable. For example, eight years after the initial order, he approved a request to dispose of the Delights of Harmony Palace’s old fish scale gilded lacquer clock, which marked time via five watch-periods rather than hours.

190. Castiglione painted the southern side of the building, which included a view of the rear throne with a back cushion with perianth design. See *Yuanming Yuan Sources* 2: 1326, no. 347 (sixteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, fifteenth year of the Qianlong reign).

191. Ibid. 2: 1362, no. 425 (seventeenth day of the eighth Chinese month, twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign), Painting Academy. In 1751 Qianlong ordered the Mint at the Cultivate the Heart Hall (*Yangxindian Zhuluchu*) to copy and execute the approved original designs by Castiglione. See ibid. 2: 1326, no. 348 (thirteenth day of the eleventh Chinese month, fifteenth year of the Qianlong reign).

192. Maurice Adam, *Yuen ming yuen. L’Oeuvre architecturale des anciens jésuites au XVIIIe siècle* (Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1936), 24; Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione*, 86-87; and, most recently, Auvidis Astrée CD XVIII-21, 1996. Two European court musicians for the Kangxi emperor were the missionaries, Teodorico Pedrini, C.M. and Jean Joseph-Marie Amiot, S. J. The author of the CD’s accompanying booklet declares it is useless to look for Chinese influences in Pedrini’s sonatas.

193. Chen, *Shuo Yuan*, 27, highlights the importance of buildings as essential elements in classical gardens. This principle contrasts with European gardens where the grounds are considered a separate entity from the buildings. It becomes apparent from studying these twenty engravings and ruins that Castiglione understood Chinese gardens from a Chinese perspective since buildings play a host role and landscape first ministers. This contrasts with the reverse emphasis in Japanese gardens with its relatively few buildings, a model more

familiar to Westerners.

194. It was 65 feet from north to south, with a 249-foot eastern section and the higher (north to south) midsection of the Great Fountains and 925 feet from east to west, according to Jin Yufeng, "*Yuanming Yuan Xiyanglou pingxi*" (A comment on Yuanming Yuan's Western-style building) *Yuanming Yuan* 3 (1984) 22.

195. Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione*, 92-94.

196. Zhao, "*Changchun Yuan*," 8; Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione*, 100, positions spirit rocks at the base of the two stairs in a circle behind the central fountain at the Great Fountain (Scene Fifteen). A hedge and trees bar a clear view.

197. Chen, *Shuo Yuan*, 5. This last statement regarding the principle of breaking a garden site into discrete views, and opposing seeing everything at once is challenged by Clunas, in *Fruitful Sites*, 139, 174-76, 223 note 79.

198. Philippe Jonathan and Antoine Durand, "La Promenade occidentale de l'Empereur Qianlong," *Le Yuanmingyuan Jeux d'eau et palais européens du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1987), 19-33.

199. Jin, "*Yuanming Yuan Xiyanglou*," 22.

200. Adam says ten in *Yuen ming yuen*, 34.

201. Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione*, 100.

202. Fong Wen and James C. Y. Watt, "Imperial Patronage of the Arts Under the Ch'ing," in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Museum of Art*, ed. Wen Fong and James C. Y. Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 555-58.

203. Ibid. and Yang Boda, "Castiglione at the Qing Court: An Important Artistic Contribution," *Orientations* 19, no. 11 (November 1988): 49.

204. Bartholomew, *The Hundred Flowers*, 6.

205. Ibid.

206. Ibid.

207. *Zhiwuxue dacidian* (Dictionary of botany) (Hong Kong: *Shangwu yin shuguan*, 1933).

208. Terese Tse Bartholomew, interview with author, San Francisco, Calif., August 2, 1996.

209. Gille Genest, "Les Palais européens du Yuanmingyuan: essai sur la végétation dans les jardin," *Ars Asiatiques* 49 (1994): 86-87.

210. Xu, *The Chinese City in Space and Time*, 2-3, 9, 123.

211. Ibid., 15-16.

212. "Metropolitan Graduate" is another acceptable translation for this official title for scholars who were awarded the equivalent to the doctorate (after the Song dynasty).

213. Ibid., 20-24.

Chapter Three

The Garden of the Clear Ripples (*Qingyi Yuan*) on Longevity Hill (*Shou Shan*)

The Garden of the Clear Ripples on Longevity Hill, originally known as Jar Hill (*Weng Shan*) to the west of the Garden of Perfect Brightness was named by its creator, the Qianlong emperor. (Color Plate 3.1) After its 1860 destruction, it was partially restored in 1888 by the Empress Dowager Cixi who then changed its name to the Garden of Nurtured Harmony (*Yihe Yuan*). A careful examination of written and visual sources of both gardens reveals several key differences. Cixi's modifications replaced the garden's original spirit with one bearing her mark, but she did retain Qianlong's fine basic design. Today, visitors to the New Summer Palace, which covers about 725 acres, can still appreciate the clear divisions of the garden. The front or south side of Longevity Hill, centering on the tower of the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion (*Foxiang Ge*), is the focal point of the whole garden; the back or north side of the hill centers on Back Lake (*Ho Hu*) with its temples, southern-style garden, and Suzhou Street; the area east of Longevity Hill consists of the Palace and official residence section; and the area of Inherited Clarity Lake (*Kunming Hu*), occupies about 550 acres. Its waters are unbroken except for three small islands and a long causeway connected by six bridges.[1]

In our study of this imperial garden, we will first sketch the significant stages in the earlier pre-Qing design of the general area around the hill in question, before describing the Qianlong emperor's modifications to produce all four areas. Sources enable us to perceive what inspired his landscape design as well as some architectural forms

on the front and back slopes and on the lake. Recent Chinese studies enable us to compare the eighteenth century garden with Cixi's partially restored counterpart. Several changes indicate each creator's preferences.

To recreate the original attractiveness of the north or back slope is a challenging task, as it was not only ruined by Anglo-French troops in 1860, but was left largely un-restored by Cixi. We will therefore give more detailed treatment in a second section to the emperor's design of the waterway and northern slope before turning to the rear structural complexes to determine their purposes in the days of Qianlong. According to the 1756 Clothing Records, the emperor frequently supervised the shaping of his eight, sheltered, Jiangnan-inspired gardens and Tibetan-inspired temples. (Color Plate 3.2)

Since the Chinese garden is an extension of its creator and helps us see how he wanted himself to be seen, and what he thought a garden was, we will analyze how Qianlong projected his persona in the design of each particular sector distributed along the five main (three land and two water) routes, which he fashioned for his Garden of the Clear Ripples. For example, one land route is along the Long Corridor (*Chang Lang*) spanning the entire shore of the Inherited Clarity Lake, at the foot of the front of the hill. The emperor embellished this lengthy east-west covered promenade with garden motifs inspired by Jiangnan scholars' gardens. Obviously, too, he intended to express the very ideals scholars aspire to through the choice of this architectural design common to Chinese gardens. Restorations enable us to traverse it, but numerous scenes from Chinese popular culture, commonly employed in Chinese opera, replace many landscape designs and obscure the original idea the emperor had for his scholar garden.

SIGNIFICANT DESIGN ELEMENTS OF THE ORIGINAL IMPERIAL GARDEN, RETAINED IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The Garden of the Clear Ripples on the Longevity Hill was situated some nine miles from the Forbidden City (*Zijincheng*) in the heart of Beijing, and just over one mile from the extreme western walls of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. It was the third oldest of the five imperial gardens which constituted the Garden of Perfect Brightness during the eighteenth century. Since water and mountains are the two essential elements of every Chinese garden, the two main natural

components of the Qianlong garden are Longevity Hill and Inherited Clarity Lake. Records at the beginning of the twelfth century, however, indicate that hill's original name was Jar Hill, simply because an old man had unearthed a jar there. A natural prominence, it was only about 200 feet high. The lake, too, has an earlier history. Initially, Emperor Zhangzong (r. 1190-1201) of the Jin dynasty (1115-1234) that dominated Manchuria and north China, and then the Emperor Shizu (r. 1260-1294), popularly known as Kublai Khan of the Yuan dynasty (1277-1367), ordered engineers to channel the waters from western springs in the Jade Spring Hill (*Yuquan Shan*) to an artificially enlarged pond at the base of Jar Hill. Many lotuses grew in what was then called Great Landing Lake (*Dabo Hu*) and, in the thirteenth century, it became a reservoir for the canal stretching to the new Mongol capital of Dadu, now called Beijing.

Ming dynasty emperors (1386-1644) added important permanent structures to this scenic locale. In 1494, the Hongzhi emperor (r. 1488-1505) constructed the famous Perfect Silence Temple (*Yuanjing Si*) on Jar Hill to pray for his wet nurse's longevity and spiritual welfare. The contributions of his successor, the Zhengde emperor (r. 1506-1521), reflected the unprecedented development of Chinese gardening at that time, especially in the Jiangnan region. By adding picturesque places around the Great Landing Lake, the emperor transformed it into a scenic region reminiscent of and rivaling those he loved to visit around Hangzhou's West Lake.[2]

To appreciate what the Qianlong emperor did to this hill and lake region in the eighteenth century is a complex, but rewarding, task made possible by recent publications by Garden of Nurtured Harmony scholars. Thanks to Garden of Perfect Brightness sources recently published by China's Number One Archives,[3] we discover the emperor traveled to the Garden of the Clear Ripples forty-seven times during 1756 (twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign). Some elaborate administrative structures, a few treasure-filled residences, and pleasure facilities initially suggest the chief purpose of his visits was simply a change of imperial summer residences. Foreign visitors to the garden during the Qianlong era remarked on its noticeably religious nature. By far the most dominant structures they noted were immense Buddhist temples both on the front and back slopes of the hill.

Two factors that contributed to the dominance of these temples were the traditional method of artificially heightening a small hill, and the technique of giving prominence to a single complex set in the central axis of that enhanced hill. (The Chinese saying expressing this practice is "painting clouds to set off the moon.") The tower of the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion was the dominant temple on the front or south slope; it had a massive Buddhist counterpart on the

back or north slope. In 1750 (fifteenth year of the Qianlong reign) the emperor ordered the Garden of the Clear Ripples to be built to properly celebrate the sixtieth birthday of his mother, the Xiaosheng Empress, to whom he was devoted. She was an ardent Buddhist. Like all scholar gardens, Qianlong's new garden was an extension of his personality. In this case, he, as a gentleman scholar/owner, was aspiring to embody the major Confucian doctrine of a son's respect for his parents (*xiao*), in his garden.

The Great Landing Lake was deepened and expanded eastward to over 550 acres, just less than a square mile, or twice its former size.[4] Next, he divided this vast lake into three parts by means of a West Causeway connected by six small bridges. These were modeled after the Su Causeway (*Su Di*) of Hangzhou's West Lake. Each sector was fitted with one of three small Isles of the Immortals, reminiscent of a Daoist belief in long-lived deities living on elusive isles: a belief that inspires Chinese poets, landscapists, and garden designers even today. These isles' first appearances in imperial gardens date back to Han emperors, in the second century B.C., who created the basic garden design known as the paradise garden.[5] The Qing emperor then ordered that the dredged lake materials be mixed with rocks and placed atop Myriad Longevity Hill, thereby enhancing its height. Finally, he commanded that the Ming Perfect Silence Temple on the southern slope be replaced with the major complex named Gratitude for Extended Longevity Temple (*Dabao Siyanshousi*). In the same spirit, he changed the hill's name to Longevity Hill. Together with the three Isles of the Immortals in his lake, the changes expressed a filial wish for his mother's prolonged life. He also renamed the augmented water of Inherited Clarity Lake after one with the same name built for military exercises in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220) by the great Martial Emperor, Wudi. Qianlong likewise scheduled naval maneuvers on the lake, as noted by an eyewitness.

Not surprisingly, this extensive engineering project for the general design spanned fifteen years and was only completed in 1764. Although the front and east hill are but a fraction of the total area of the Garden of the Clear Ripples, together the two constitute a major segment of it, since they contain many buildings. Rather than overwhelming the reader by itemizing each edifice and its function as it existed during the Qianlong era, we will instead follow the emperor to his garden for stated activities four times in 1756, and once more after its completion. Each visit features selected structures, seemingly naturally distributed along the five different land or waterways on the east or front of Longevity Hill or the Back Hill and Lake. Where a section includes Cixi's reconstructed buildings in the front and east sections, their modified purposes will be noted.

DEPICTIONS OF THE GARDEN AND EYEWITNESSES' ACCOUNTS

A woodcut by an unknown artist, in the 1805 Japanese illustrated book, *Pictures of the Splendid Regions of China*, depicts the southern slope of the imperial garden on the Longevity Hill with its scattered buildings, pagoda, walls, long bridge, and lake. This early depiction is valuable, although, as with most Asian drawings, its view is idealistic rather than realistic with regard to such things as dimensions, the setting, and even the number of structures. No better illustration of this scene is known except a painting, *Emperor Qianlong Reviewing the Naval Exercise in the Kunming Lake on the Foot of the Longevity Hill*, said to be by the Jesuit court artist, Giuseppe Castiglione.[6]

In addition, two early eyewitnesses' records concerning the entire park contribute to our understanding. Isaac Titsingh, head of the Dutch East India Embassy to the Qianlong emperor, visited the garden with his assistant, A. E. Van Braam Houckgeest, and Chinese mandarins who accompanied the two Dutch envoys, by the order of the emperor, on January 13, 1795. Titsingh's record reads: "This room, named *Tien* or Heaven on account of its ravishing view, was situated by frozen water—on the other side being a mountain chain. . . . In the middle of this water there was an island with some buildings in the midst of high trees, and a proud stone bridge on seventeen arches, led thither. Never did I see a more enchanting spot either in reality or in pictures. From there we were pulled across the ice in sledges with yellow ropes. . . . From the highest temple we had a wide view of the city of [*Beijing*] and this enchanting place."[7]

Van Braam Houckgeest's account of one of the two temples on the south side of the hill reports:

> Temple on the summit [named Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion]. From this part of the mountain to which we had ascended by at least a hundred and twenty steps, we climbed toward its summit by means of a path winding between rocks. . . . The temple is upon the summit of the mountain; its construction is in many respects similar to that of a tower, and in it we found three images in a sitting posture of enormous size, and entirely gilt. These are the principal idols of the temple. . . . The walls behind the great idols are covered from one end to other by large panels, each of which contains several hundred figures of gods made of bronze, and placed in small niches. The outer walls of the temple are coated with varnished bricks.[8]

What the eyewitnesses did not record was that this octagonal, three-storied structure with four tiers of eaves was modeled after the Yellow Crane Tower (*Huanghe Lou*) in Hubei.[9] Though the Qianlong emperor initially only planned to touch up the entire Garden of Perfect

Brightness, he radically revised his plans for the imperial gardens after he had seen the architectural and garden masterpieces in Jiangnan during his six Southern Tours. For example, he decided to tear down a half-finished Buddhist structure in the Garden of the Clear Ripples and replaced it with the better-conceived tower of the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion.[10] So as to ensure it would be the focal point of the whole area, he elevated it on a great stone terrace and placed it at the front and center, as viewed from boats, bridges, causeways, and islands.[11] He then created a central walkway, not only in front of the temple, but continuing up beyond it, following the contours of the hill until it reached the exquisitely-tiled Sea of Wisdom Temple (*Zhihui Hai*), on the crown of the hill. These massive architectural changes naturally slowed the completion of the Garden of the Clear Ripples, which we have noted was meant as a sixtieth-birthday gift for the emperor's mother in 1750.

Another early depiction of the same southern slope of the Longevity Hill with the Inherited Clarity Lake at its foot is an old painting on paper in the Chinese style belonging to the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (A similar painting is part of the imperial collection, Forbidden City, Beijing.) On the exhibition card, the note in English by members of the Oriental Division of the Library reads: "The summer palace, located several miles northwest of Peking. The view shows the grounds before the palaces were reconstructed in 1888."

Like the Japanese illustration of 1805, this old Chinese painting is too idealistic; its value is that it depicts the entire southern part of the Imperial Park and includes more details of the buildings, terraces, watchtowers, balustrades, bridges, and even the famous sacred bronze ox. Cast by order of the Qianlong emperor in 1755 and bearing an inscription on its back confirming its function as a guardian against flooding of the vast Inherited Clarity Lake, it lies to the north of the Seventeen-arch Marble Bridge (*Shiqi Kong Qiao*), located directly south of the tower of the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion.[12]

SIGNIFICANT DESIGN ELEMENTS OF THE BACK (NORTH) SIDE OF LONGEVITY HILL

In contrast to the front hill with its spacious open land augmented by the vast southern landscape, in the Qianlong era, the back hill and lake/stream area constituted quiet landscapes amid forested hills and

a channeled water space. Towering pines and cypresses both sheltered and separated eight Jiangnan-inspired garden jewels and four smaller temples on the shores of the back stream or along east-west paths bisecting the back slope. An open central north-south axis featuring massive Tibetan temples added important cosmopolitan touches to this imperial garden. Ancient trees, like the clove copse densely planted to the west of the central axis, screened the smaller garden sectors from the emperor and his entourage when visiting the temple area or the market place named Suzhou Street. (Fig. 3.1) Stores on this street flanked both banks of the watercourse as it flowed west to east past the intersection with the north-south central axis.

Widening and narrowing to avoid monotony and convey spaciousness along the main route, this 1,080-foot, artificial channel, called the Back Lake or Suzhou Creek, was shaded by tall weeping willows, pines, and cypresses and featured wild flowers. In contrast to the purpose of the front slope in the south (Color Plate 3.3), this north back slope (Fig. 3.2) functioned as a retreat for quiet contemplation of nature, for religious devotions, and for family relaxation. Nevertheless, the seventy-five-acre back slope of the Garden of the Clear Ripples originally equaled the front slope in splendor. Jin Bailing, a Garden of Nurtured Harmony scholar, recently called the Back Hill of the Garden of the Clear Ripples "a masterpiece of large gardens in pre-modern China."[13]

On the twenty-fourth day of the first Chinese month in 1756, the Qianlong emperor left the Garden of Perfect Brightness for the Longevity Hill venue for in-motion viewing (*youxing*) for the day.[14] Of the forty-seven recorded visits to the Garden of Nurtured Harmony that year, on only seven occasions did the emperor administer affairs (*banshi*), an action that we will discuss shortly, in that location. The other thirty-one times he spent enjoying the 101 places on the Front Hill, east side, and in the Inherited Clarity Lake region, begun in 1750 and finished by 1754. But in 1756, he could not have savored the Back Hill sites in their entirety. Records indicate he completed the rear section in 1759 (twenty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign) only after his experiences of the Jiangnan area during his second Southern Tour (*Nanxun*) in 1757. Ultimately, twenty-four garden and temple structures graced the Back Hill.[15] Of course, there is no way of knowing if the emperor visited the Back Hill in 1756 to oversee projects. Those familiar with the multitude and specificity of his orders to members of the Garden of Perfect Brightness's Imperial Painting Academy (*Ruyi Guan*), found in the Imperial Household Department's (*Neiwu Fu*) Clothing Records, as they labored to depict or embellish each sector of the imperial gardens, characterize Qianlong as a micromanager. No doubt the prospect of supervising the

shaping of his newly-inspired creations on the Back Hill prompted many of his 1756 in-motion viewings to the Garden of the Clear Ripples.

Figure 3.1 Reconstructed Suzhou Street, Summer Palace *(Yihe Yuan)*. (Siu family collection).

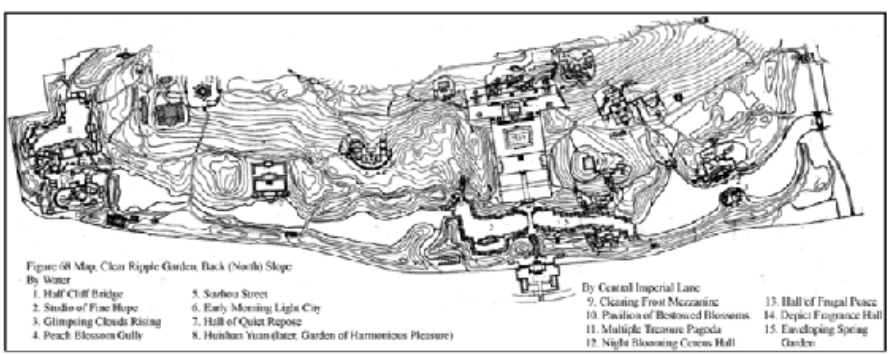


Figure 68 Map, Clear Ripple Garden, Back (North) Slope
By Water
1. Half Cliff Bridge
2. Studio of Fine Hope
3. Glimpsing Clouds Rising
4. Peach Blossom Gully
5. Suzhou Street
6. Early Morning Light City
7. Hall of Quiet Repose
8. Huishan Yuan (later, Garden of Harmonious Pleasure)
By Central Imperial Lane
9. Clearing Frost Mezzanine
10. Pavilion of Bestowed Blossoms
11. Multiple Treasure Pagoda
12. Night Blooming Cereus Hall
13. Hall of Frugal Peace
14. Depict Fragrance Hall
15. Enveloping Spring Garden

Figure 3.2 Map of back (North) slope, Qianlong's Clear Ripple Garden *(Qingyi Yuan)*. (Siu family collection).

DESIGN OF THE MAN-MADE BACK HILL AND WATERWAYS

Early descriptions of the original Jar Hill reveal a sparsely forested prominence with a small stream at its base. The heavily wooded and heightened back of Longevity Hill (its new name) with its northern waterway or Back Lake was an artificial eighteenth-century creation

that still exists. It exemplifies a typical, manmade, Chinese gully scene. The three keys to engineering such a transformation are to condense the whole scene into a long narrow strip, introduce water (from Inherited Clarity Lake at the front of the hill) to a new channel along the Back Hill, and utilize the dredged earth to create a gully embraced by two hills. By these techniques, gardeners made the original landscape look entirely different.[16]

First, gardeners had to prepare the ground on the complex terrain for scenes intended to convey different atmospheres. Second, they had to shape various rockery sub-peaks into peaks and integrate them with real lower hills, so as to dispel the feeling of a single isolated main hill. In the western section, this relation between the main hill and sub-peaks was particularly successful.[17] Third, they had to solve the Back Hill's potential problem of no borrowed distant scene, an essential element of Chinese garden landscapes. This problem stems from the already-mentioned goal of focusing the emperor's attention on discrete interior scenic spots, but an opening among the trees on the west of the gully allowed him to take in or borrow the seven-story pagoda crowning the adjacent Jade Spring Hill. Last, the north shore sunny slope along the rear waterway enabled an alternation of bright and shaded scenes. The southern slope was also remodeled to match the rockery on the opposite side. An added area at the bottom of the south side of the hill enhanced the height and majesty of the Back Hill.

At first glance the Early Morning Light City (*Yinhui Cheng*), situated on the southern bank of Back Lake immediately east of the Suzhou market, appears positioned on natural terrain. Actually, skilled garden builders had changed drainage ditches into deeper gullies for the hill streams and created steeper cliffs. Specifically, they cut off a triangular part of the hill at the southern edge along the waterway and to the east of a ditch. This removal left a much larger and higher ten-foot cliff along the Back Lake. Next, they sliced off half the width of the opposite western hill at its foot, but in a straight line. Piling the extra dirt on the slopes, of course, made the gully steeper. (Fig. 3.3) Last, they extended the rockery on the north shore of the waterway. This made the back stream turn at a 90-degree angle toward the artificially-created overhanging cliff on which was perched the Early Morning Light City and the bridge that spanned the enhanced gully. When the emperor looked up at the finished product from the Back Lake, he could appreciate its majesty without detecting any trace of artificiality. He understood its purpose: Early Morning Light City was actually a strategic city gate, guarding access to both the narrowed waterway and the land route via the bridge.[18]

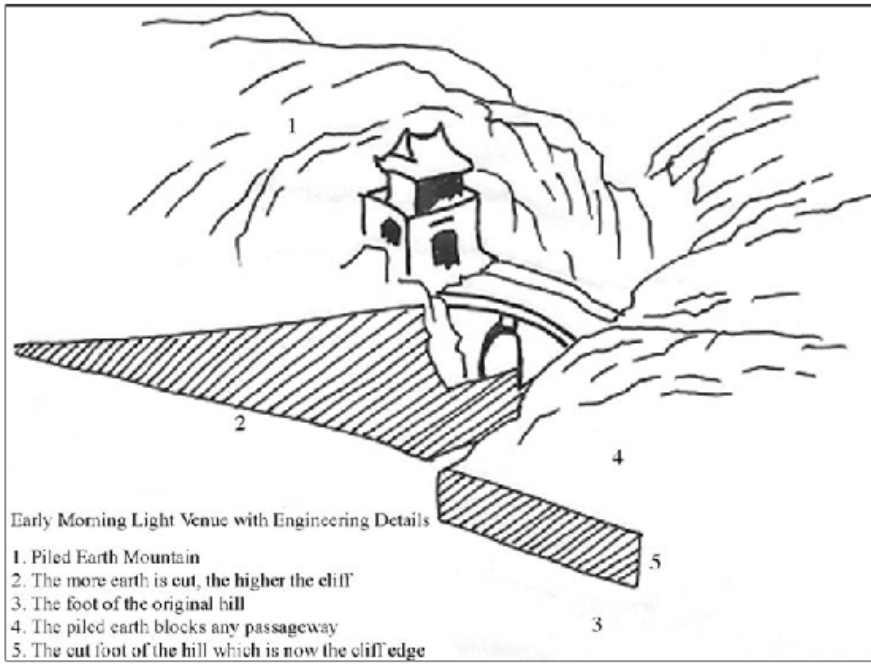

1
2
3
4
5
Early Morning Light Venue with Engineering Details
1. Piled Earth Mountain
2. The more earth is cut, the higher the cliff
3. The foot of the original hill
4. The piled earth blocks any passageway
5. The cut foot of the hill which is now the cliff edge

Figure 3.3 Details of Early Morning Light City *(Yinhui Cheng)*, including engineering. (Siu family collection).

ARTISTIC GOALS OF GARDEN DESIGNERS AT THE REAR OF THE GARDEN OF THE CLEAR RIPPLES

One of the three artistic goals of the emperor and his Chinese engineers at the back of the Garden of the Clear Ripples was obviously to create a natural-looking environment. Less evident was their second goal, to create favorable conditions for appreciating the views. For example, consider the way they designed the Back Lake, which is really a stream. Each section of the waterway, measuring about 500 feet in length, widens in the center only to narrow again. Together the sections constitute a series of small, interconnected lakes. This design facilitated viewing the individual structures or growths on shore. But farther vistas were skillfully hidden by bridges or gullies, in complete contrast to the unobstructed views in the Front Lake area.

Finally, the last and most essential aim of Chinese garden engineers was to create an artistic expression of humans living within the natural environment. Therefore, design architecture is regarded as a finishing touch to any garden. The Tibetan temples added both

religious and political overtones on the central back axis of Garden of the Clear Ripples; the Market Street lent a secular dimension in the middle section; and the small hidden Jiangnan-inspired back gardens, scattered along the visitor's routes, provided the simpler tranquil elements essential to any landscape. All three types blend harmoniously with the natural-looking environment of the Back Hill and Lake, making the whole a three-dimensional painting of hills, water, and buildings.[19] (Fig. 3.4)

UTILIZING FIVE ROUTES TO APPRECIATE QIANLONG'S DESIGN AND USE OF THE GARDEN OF THE CLEAR RIPPLES

Today, because of extensive restorations to part of the Garden of the Clear Ripples, we can actually share some of Qianlong's pleasure as he sailed the Inherited Clarity Lake in an imperial barge on the thirteenth day of the fourth Chinese month in 1756.[20] Such an outing on the lake in the south will constitute our first in-motion narration of the Front Lake water route.

However, because Cixi attempted a few nineteenth-century restorations of the scenes along the Back Lake and Land Routes, existing visual and written materials must serve as supplements for our second and third in-motion narratives. Our fourth excursion extends along the entire length of her Summer Palace's reconstructed Long Corridor, positioned between the vast lake and the front or south slope. In contrast, the fifth, and final, in-motion experience returns to the Qianlong emperor traversing the entire front and back, temple-filled, central axis on an inspection tour of the completed area. Recent studies reveal changes ordered by Cixi.

Figure 3.4 North slope, Clear Ripple Garden, including three-dimensional architectural and natural elements. (Siu family collection).

TAKING A BRIEF BOAT RIDE WITH THE QIANLONG EMPEROR ON THE FRONT LAKE

Qianlong commenced his in-motion viewing on Inherited Clarity Lake on the thirteenth day of the fourth Chinese month in 1756. One attraction he saw was the beautiful structures and vegetation on shore; another was the finished lake itself spanning about 90 acres in 1750. (Fig. 3.5) To prevent monotony, a West Dike, just wide enough for a path bordered by weeping willows and peach trees, broke the water surface into three main areas. Plants such as water chestnut, lotus, and cattail added a natural touch.[21] Last, following an imperial garden tradition based on Daoism, a small rocky Isle of the Immortals with a few unique structures graced each of the three different-sized water areas.

Qianlong modeled his dike after the Su Causeway in the West Lake in Hangzhou,[22] but he must have also drawn inspiration from the Narrow West Lake (*Shouxi Hu*) in Yangzhou. Chen Congzhou wrote that during Qianlong's six Southern Tours, the emperor had ordered the repair and embellishment of the Yangzhou garden, stretching from the Narrow West Lake north to Mid-hill Hall (*Banshan Tang*) so that the sector, like the one in Inherited Clarity Lake, became more like "two dikes or embankments of flowers and willows leaning over the water, a route with buildings and platforms all the way toward the mountain."[23] Further, five of the six small bridges connecting Qianlong's new causeway had flat central portions surmounted by painted pavilions. As house-bridges then they added another dimension to a Chinese garden landscape. (Fig. 3.6) We continue to discover close parallels between the natural and manmade embellishments on the Yangzhou Narrow West Lake and the western causeway in Inherited Clarity Lake.

Figure 3.5 Panoramic moonlit view of Southern slope including Inherited Clarity *(Kunming)* Lake, Summer Palace. (Siu family collection).

The emperor's sources for the names and design of five house-bridges were old classical poems. For example, Bin-style Bridge (*Binfeng Qiao*) was named after a poem about peasant labor from the *Classic of Songs*, China's first book of poetry written 2,000 years ago. The allusion probably indicates that Qianlong likened himself to the Duke of Zhou, an outstanding governor in the Early Zhou Dynasty (ca. eleventh century to 256 B.C.), who cared for his people through his concern for agriculture, their main livelihood.[24] In contrast, Mirror Bridge (*Jing Qiao*) reflects the emperor's expression in architecture of a Tang poem by Li Po with the lines: "A [bright] mirror inserted between two bodies of water, a rainbow beneath two bridges." Qianlong's poetic response to it: "If the lake's radiance/glory looks like a mirror, who would the people be who do not want to be in it?" But the most famous span on the Causeway derives its name, Jade Belt Bridge (*Yudai Qiao*), not from literature, but from history and art design, for high-ranking officials in ancient China wore similarly-shaped, jade-studded belts. The marble bridge, without a pavilion, but with balustrades of carved fairy cranes flying into clouds, arched gracefully over the water. Its parabolic design allowed eighteenth-century imperial dragon boats to pass unharmed westward from Inherited Clarity Lake to Jade Spring Hill.[25]

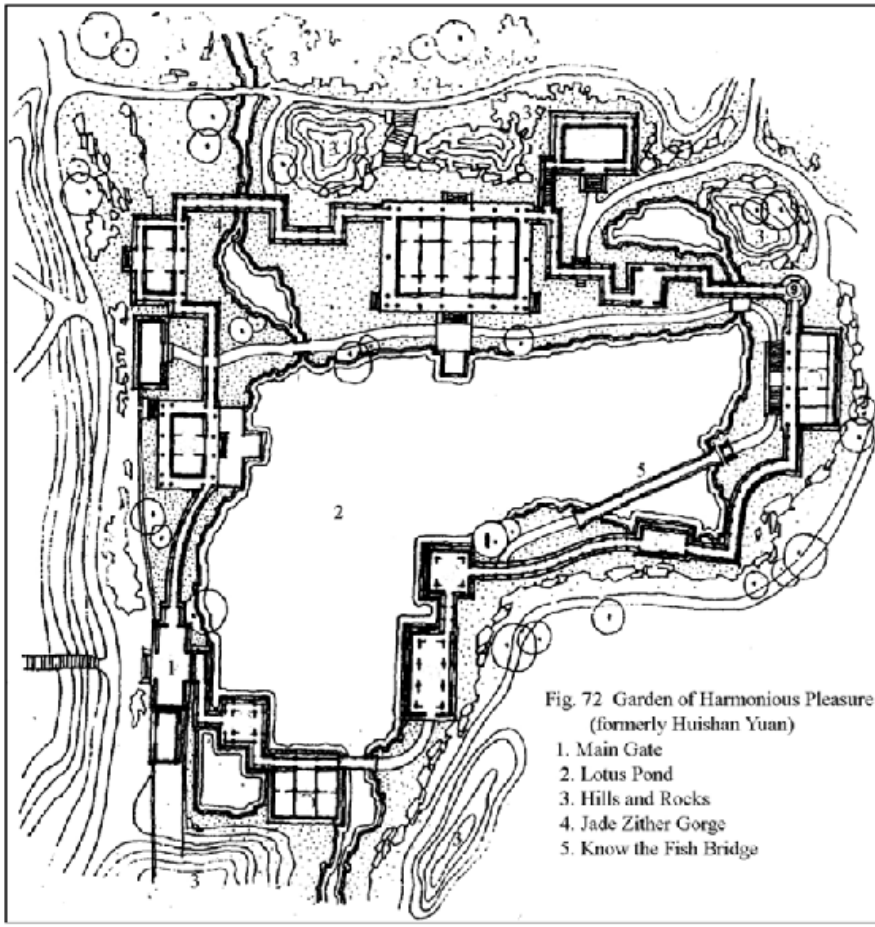


Fig. 72 Garden of Harmonious Pleasure
(formerly Huishan Yuan)
1. Main Gate
2. Lotus Pond
3. Hills and Rocks
4. Jade Zither Gorge
5. Know the Fish Bridge

Figure 3.6 Map of Clear Ripple Garden, early nineteenth century. [Also Garden of Harmonious Pleasure *(Xiequ Yuan)* today, Summer Palace] (Siu family collection).

Part of enjoying this vast lakescape involves exploring South Lake Island, the largest of the three islands. Debarking allowed one to appreciate its design purposes. By extending far out from the southeastern shore, it served as an important focal point of major scenes in the front area. To its north across the water loomed the tower of the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion on Longevity Hill; to its west was situated, not only the West Dike with its five bridges, but also another Isle of the Immortals; and to its southwest was the third isle. Since nothing major stood along the East Dike, the gardeners used the classic device of obstructing the view by heaping a mound on the eastern shore and planting a thick grove as a screen. On South Lake Island, often likened to Penglai Isle of the Immortals, Qianlong could reach the East Dike via the 162-foot-long by eight-foot-wide Seventeen-arch Marble Bridge, which has 544 different stone lions carved atop its balusters.[26] To the west, the Reed Gully Bridge (*Lugou*

Qiao), also known as the Marco Polo Bridge, spanned the Eternally Steady River (*Yongding He*) providing inspiration.[27] A Dragon King Temple (*Longwang Miao*) and the Containing Emptiness Hall (*Hanxu Tang*) completed the South Lake Island.

EXPERIENCING THE JIANGNAN-INSPIRED GARDENS ALONG THE BACK LAKE AND STREAM

When creating scenery along the Back Stream in 1756, Qianlong sought to elicit garden experiences different from those on the vast front lake. Viewing the Back Hill from the water entailed boarding an imperial barge moored at the large double dock in the northeast of Inherited Clarity Lake, then sailing a short distance in a northeasterly direction. Passing Mid-cliff Bridge (*Banbi Qiao*) brought him to the back stream, which an imperial poem lauds as the transition from the sunny side of the front hill to the shady back. Qianlong intended this back garden sector, along the 1,083-foot, east-west waterway, to be an aesthetic and tranquil retreat.

When Qianlong entered the first 161-foot segment of the Back Lake, through the Mid-cliff Bridge, only nearby wildflowers, forested hills beyond, and the gradually widening water welcomed him. But where the waterway narrowed to a mere ten feet, the emperor positioned two Jiangnan-inspired gardens on opposite slopes. The larger garden, on the southwestern side, named Fine Prospect Study (*Qiwang Xuan*), had a square-like appearance owing to its covered corridors extending laterally from the front structure to both the rear two-story main building and its side pavilion. Garden elements in a rounded design softened the angular structural elements. The name of its tiny garden's counterpart on the northwestern bank, Glimpsing the Moment Clouds Rise (*Kanyun Qishi*), indicates its purpose: to provide a vantage point for admiring not only clouds, but also more distant borrowed or timeless views.

Proceeding westward past the paired gardens at the narrowed juncture, the second 161-foot segment seemed simply a natural landscape with only a single pavilion. It was clearly positioned at the southernmost terminus of another triangular cut into the hill slope, a graduated gash that widened the stream into a small lake of nearly sixty-five feet. This man-made western counterpart to the eastern gully under Early Morning Light City was named Peach Blossom Gully (*Taohua Gou*), and was also marked by a single, clear focal point. This

gully, however, also featured partially hidden splendid buildings in three other scenic spots along the forested slopes of the Back Hill.[28] A considerable quietude ensued from experiencing these tranquil mountain and water scenes with human touches.

What a contrast if an imperial barge occasionally brought Qianlong with his entourage to join the hustle and bustle of a Chinese shopping area, named Suzhou Street after the southern city.[29] A recently reconstructed version of the eighteenth-century marketplace stretches more than 325 feet along both banks of the irregularly-shaped middle section of the Back Lake. Sixty-four closely packed curio shops, restaurants and teahouses, secondhand clothing stores, and originally, even singsong houses, all built atop well-cut stone bases crowd the area. A convenient dock near the northeast corner of this eighteenth-century shopping mall facilitated debarking. Six small bridges linked the shores. A private entertainment section for in-motion viewing was also provided for the emperor and his guests.

Turning the vessel sharply around the Early Morning Light City pass, the crowded complex scene was suddenly left behind. In the ensuing first segment of the eastern waterway, tranquility once more returned amid green hills and the soothing sounds of cicadas and birds. Unlike previous segments, no architectural structures grace the banks.

Passing another bridge connecting narrowed shores alerted Qianlong that he was entering yet another part of the eastern stream. Between two hills on the south bank stood a large symmetrical complex.[30] One structure overlooking the water was named the Quiet Repose Study (*Danning Xuan*) to emphasize its purpose as strengthening tranquility.

Past one of the final bridges was the easternmost segment of the Back Stream. As he glided along, Qianlong glimpsed the trees and stones of his famous garden, the Garden of the Benevolent Mountain (*Huishan Yuan*).[31] In 1751, on his first of six Southern Tours, the emperor visited the famous old Pleasure Garden (*Jichang Yuan*) in Huishan, Wuxi, on the Yangzi delta. He was so inspired by it that in 1752, he ordered one based on it for the eastern side of the Back Hill, naming it after the hill where the Pleasure Garden is located.[32] In 1756, he would have been able to enjoy it fully, as records indicate its completion before 1754 (nineteenth year of the Qianlong reign).[33]

The Qianlong emperor's garden within the garden used the same scenic layout as its model, namely, a sector for halls, pavilions, extensive promenades, and different-shaped bridges clustered around a lotus pond, and another sector reminiscent of a hill scene. The architecture around his water scene was grander than the original, however, as befits an imperial complex, yet he avoided overt

ostentation such as colored roofs. Some critics say the hill design of the Qianlong version surpasses that of the Wuxi original, which featured a unique “gully of eight sounds.” It consisted of a stream cascading down a small, manmade, winding ravine of piled rocks along an artificial hill, ending in one of eight pools located at different heights. As the water entered each level, it caused different sounds. In contrast, Jade Zither Gorge (*Yuqin Xia*), in the northwestern corner of Qianlong’s garden, seemed more natural, as its designers used existing natural materials, such as the area’s mountain rocks. The water flowing over these rocks in the hill scene produced pleasing music reminiscent of a zither. The sole purpose of the garden was to create an illusion of idyllic seclusion through a variety of landscape scenes and sounds.[34]

Renamed Garden of Harmonious Pleasures (*Xiequ Yuan*) (Color Plate 3.4) by the Jiaqing emperor in 1811, it was later rebuilt by the Guangxu emperor (r. 1875-1908). It is said that Cixi enjoyed it for a far different reason than did the Qianlong emperor; she often came to fish in the pond, ordering eunuchs, underwater, to hook the carp on her line! Perhaps she fished near the famed Know the Fish Bridge (*Zhiyu Qiao*). But Qianlong’s name selection indicates his far loftier intentions. It reminds those familiar with Chinese philosophy of the renowned debate between the Daoist philosophers Zhuangzi and Hui Shi on the interconnectedness of all nature, humans, and fish.[35]

In the short boating trip of about a half mile at the rear of Longevity Hill, scenes of hills and foothills, rivers, forests, gullies, pavilions, halls, and even a small shopping area from a southern city were depicted so rhythmically that they gave an impression of a far longer cruise as well as of staying in real mountains along streams. It was a major accomplishment for garden designers.

EXPERIENCING THE REAR GARDEN IN 1756 VIA EAST-WEST LAND ROUTES

The important land route paralleling the Back Lake was called the Central Imperial Lane (*Zhongyu Lu*). As the name suggests, the designers positioned it on the slope halfway between the northern peak and the southern stream banks, providing different views than those from the water. The narrow, twisting road wound through a dense forest, which allowed only limited visibility. Each scenic spot appeared unexpectedly.

In the Qianlong era, the sectors were further shielded from view by a wall. They differed, then, from the scenes near the stream, which

often displayed their features openly and added their reflections to the water. Their cloistered counterparts, however, offered an implicit invitation to explore hidden depths.

Most of the scenes along the Back Hill's east-west land routes were small independent gardens inspired by those south of the Yangzi. In all, they numbered eight.[36] The three in the northeast are: the recently-restored Garden of the Benevolent Mountain; its northern counterpart, the Clearing Frost Study (*Jiqing Xuan*); and the Blossom Bestowals Pavilion (*Huacheng Ge*). The last complex included, in its southwest corner, a rounded northern wall, stone carvings, and the multicolored, seven-storied, octagonal, tiled pagoda, named Multiple Treasures Pagoda (*Duobao Ta*). Over seventeen feet high, including its gilded pinnacle, the pagoda's glazed bricks, alternately blue, green, and yellow, exhibited small bas reliefs of the Buddha. In front of the pagoda are its commemorative arch and a stone tablet with Qianlong's inscription, "Ode to the Imperially-built Many Treasures Pagoda," carved in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan.[37]

Qianlong also created a unique flower-shaped temple complex at a crucial intersection of the east-west road with the north-south route toward the Back Lake. The temple was near the Garden of the Benevolent Mountain at the easternmost terminus of the imperial garden. In accord with the garden motif of the area, this exquisite, star-blossom-shaped, two-story Night Blooming Cereus Pavilion (*Tanhua Ge*) reminded all of the transience of human life, like the short-lived blossom. Buddhists venerated Maitreya (*Mile Fo*), the Buddhist deity of the Future, on the upper level and continued devotions before a sandalwood Buddha on the lower floor.[38]

The first of the five garden jewels in the northwest region of the Back Hill, named Constructing Emptiness Study (*Gouxu Xuan*) was situated beside the northwest axis. Geng Liutong described it as featuring a three-story tower, which commanded a panoramic view of lake and hillside, and two winding corridors. A heavy clove copse largely shielded this garden from sight along the central axis.[39] In the second tiny garden immediately north of it was the Depict Fragrance Hall (*Huifang Tang*). Placed near the banks of the Back Lake, behind the initial western section of the busy Suzhou Street market, it constituted a contrasting scene. Beside the north-south axis to the southwest of the Constructing Emptiness Study with its three-story tower was the third northwest region garden. The emperor positioned the asymmetric Garden of Enveloping Spring (*Gaichun Yuan*) (Fig. 3.7) on the south or opposite side of the east-west roadway. Within the Purity Study (*Qingke Xuan*) were three winding corridors that originally connected the other buildings.

The three northwestern gardens, the Constructing Emptiness Study,

Depict Fragrance Hall, and the Garden of Enveloping Spring, each featured several buildings that successfully utilized the Back Hill's terrain. An important principle in Chinese gardens, recorded in a Qianlong text on mountain temples, was that garden structures must be interlocked, yet also have a natural form by interchanging with the terrain. The Garden of Enveloping Spring fitted admirably into its natural contours, level in front and steep in the back, by designing the garden on three levels and with a total height difference of 45 feet and a depth of 185 feet. Mountain-climbing, covered corridors or stone steps connected each level, where the buildings offered different views.[40] (Fig. 3.8)

Already seen during the initial imperial barge inspection excursion were the remaining two northwestern gardens overlooking the Back Lake. They were the larger Fine Prospect Study and its tiny garden counterpart, Glimpsing the Moment Clouds Rise. Like most of the eight, small, Jiangnan-inspired gardens, they remain un-restored and under-described.

Figure 3.7 Elevations in Enveloping Spring Garden *(Gaichun Yuan)*, Clear Ripple Garden. (Siu family collection).

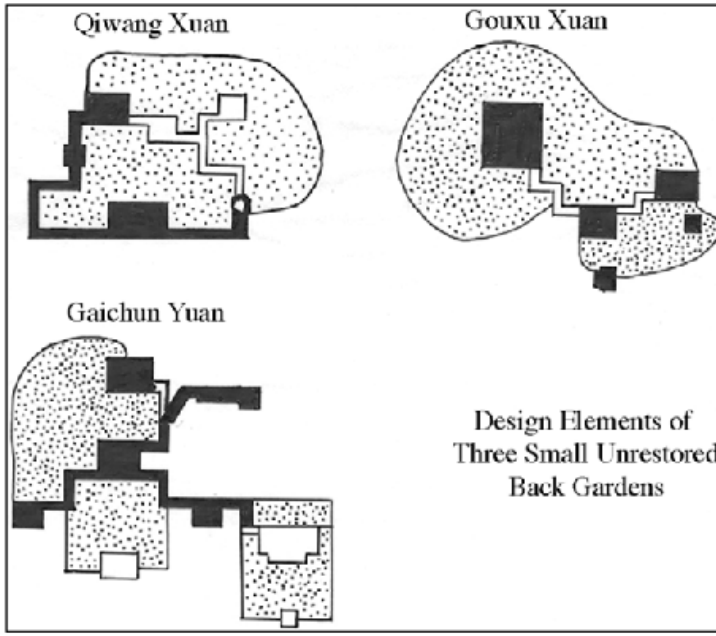


Figure 3.8 Design elements of three small unrestored Back Gardens and of Pavilion of Bestowed Pleasures *(Huacheng Ge)*, Clear Ripple Garden. (Siu family collection).

In sum, the scenes along the east-west land route and the construction to suit the characteristics of the Back Hill's terrain made Chinese landscape design take a step forward compared to the area around the Narrow West Lake of Yangzhou, which had initially inspired the Qianlong emperor.[41] The design of the small gardens on the Back Hill was unique because, unlike the Garden of the Benevolent Mountain,[42] that was a complete garden within a garden, as signified by being fully enclosed by a wall, the four small gardens' inner spaces were incomplete. Each lacked interior rockery, ponds, flowers, and trees that would have completed them. They therefore borrowed these garden elements from the common environment outside their boundaries. That this seeming lacuna was a deliberate design element is evidenced by the fact that some spaces of the small gardens were only closed by covered corridors rather than by walls. These open walkways invited outside garden elements in and shared precious interior elements with their exterior spaces.[43]

The combination of condensing and expanding spaces, as utilized on the Back Hill, is an important Chinese garden design method of making a small private world, by utilizing space with the other gardens, as all share the common environment. The different degrees of concealment of space generated different artistic conceptions, which inspired the design and construction of the gardens within an urban setting.[44]

In positioning these small gardens on the Back Hill, their designers made good use of the terrain. They carefully selected the most advantageous venue for each structure in relation to choice scenes. An experienced Chinese garden designer understands that seeing any scene from a waterway differs from seeing it framed, for example, in a geometric window within one of the garden structures. The water view is seen as perceiving the small through the large in contrast to viewing the large through the small from a land location.[45]

Combining the in-motion experiences within the ever-unfolding forested mountains and waterways of the Back Hill allows us some sense of the Qianlong emperor's own experiences as he expressed his personality in garden design. Like members of the educated elite since the period of the Six dynasties (3rd to 6th centuries), the emperor did not consider it beneath his dignity to design gardens himself.[46] He created a garden retreat on the Back Hill that was beyond the confines of his political world. Each time he travelled to a particular secluded locale in his garden, he ceremonially gave meaning to specific Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist ideals of intimacy with nature expressed through multiple garden designs.

EXPERIENCING THE LONG CORRIDOR IN 1756 AND TODAY

Extending between Inherited Clarity Lake and Longevity Hill, the Long Corridor serves many purposes. The covered east-west promenade, first erected by Qianlong in 1750,[47] (Fig. 3.9) enabled a total experience of the south Garden of the Clear Ripples. The venue served as a border between lake and hill[48] and linked the structures along the bank, from the eastern Greet the Moon Gate (*Yaoyue Men*), near the east palace sector, to its western terminus at the Ten-foot Stone Pavilion (*Shizhang Ting*).[49] The western and eastern segments of the Long Corridor intersect at the central axis that leads directly to the main temples up the slope. Thus the walkway, standing perpendicular to this centerline, is essential to the layout of the front hill area. Stretching and curving for nearly 800 feet or 273 bays or sectors,[50] it is the longest of all covered corridors, a distinctive Chinese architectural form. (Shorter corridors within the same garden climb the hill or link key structures in the little gardens in the back or north.)

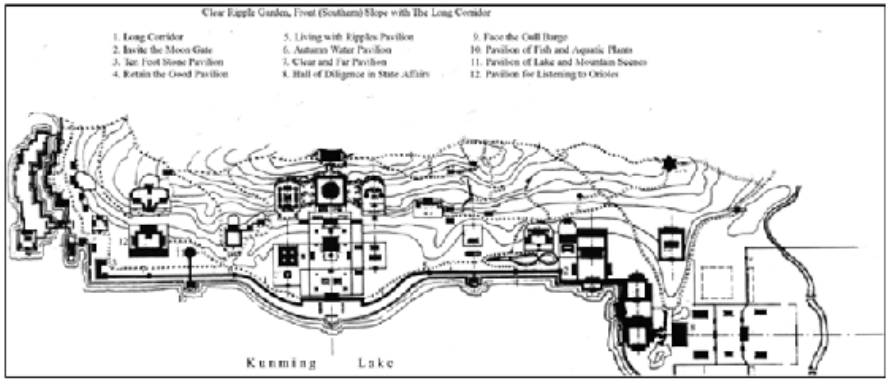

Clear Ripple Garden, Front (Southern) Slope with The Long Corridor
1. Long Corridor
2. Invite the Moon Gate
3. Jar Foot Stone Pavilion
4. Retain the Good Pavilion
5. Living with Ripples Pavilion
6. Autumn Water Pavilion
7. Clear and Far Pavilion
8. Hall of Diligence in State Affairs
9. Face the Gull Barge
10. Pavilion of Fish and Aquatic Plants
11. Pavilion of Lake and Mountain Scenes
12. Pavilion for Listening to Orioles
Kunming Lake

Figure 3.9 Map of front (South) slope, Clear Ripple Garden. (Siu family collection).

The Long Corridor, like others, guided the emperor to designed sceneries on both the lake and the hillsides. Qianlong's covered walkway, however, also featured certain distractions, namely, thousands of paintings, symbolizing the four seasons, on its beams and on the four strategically-positioned, double-eaved octagonal pavilions which supported it.[51]

Though the length and positioning of this corridor manifests the grandeur and beauty of an imperial garden, its decorations, selected from Jiangnan and other sources by the Qianlong emperor and his successors, elegantly enhanced the actual views with pictorial representations of more distant scenes and times. Their full function is beyond the scope of this study.

Other designed structures were joined to the corridor or are conveniently adjacent to it. For example, after administering affairs in the Garden of the Clear Ripples six times according to the 1756 Clothing Records,[52] Qianlong traversed the short distance from the eastern Diligence in State Affairs Hall (*Qinzheng Dian*)[53] to the entrance of the Long Corridor's eastern segment. One of the four seasons double-eaved pavilions marked that entrance and featured a short perpendicular corridor extending south, which connected to a waterside structure. The eastern one was named Face the Gull Barge (*Dui'ou Fang*), while its western counterpart, past the Long Corridor's intersection with the central axis, was called the Fish and Aquatic Plants Study (*Yuzao Xuan*). This name indicates that the emperor carefully stocked Inherited Clarity Lake with many fish and algae,[54] following the Daoist ritual of a ruler feeding fish as symbolizing caring for his people.

This first, short, north-south corridor also extended north toward the hill to an elaborate, three-story octagonal structure. Fittingly named the Lake and Mountain Scenes Building (*Huguang Shanse Lou*), it was from here that the emperor admired panoramas of the hills and

lake.[55] From recently published Qianlong sources, we discover an important religious dimension of this towering building. On its lower level, the emperor venerated Guanyin When She Came Out of the Mountain (*Chushan Guanyin*).[56] The Thousand-arm and Thousand-eye Guanyin (*Qianshou Qianyan Guanyin*) graced the upper level.[57] This must necessarily have been a large figure; probably one of the massive deities that awed Westerners on the front slope, as recounted in an earlier eyewitness account.

Directly west of this soaring temple complex, and within easy access of the Long Corridor, was Qianlong's theater complex, named the Listening to Orioles Mansion (*Tingli Guan*). The main hall of the same name had a two-story stage and the smaller east and west wings had dressing chambers.[58] The 1756 Clothing Records noted in-motion viewing here more times than any other activity during Qianlong's forty-seven visits to the Garden of the Clear Ripples. Moreover, since it is well known that the emperor was an opera aficionado who sponsored contests between provincial opera groups, we may easily deduce that musical and theater performances at this stage[59] frequently drew him to this site. Since another theater devotee, Cixi, felt this venue was inadequate, in 1891 she ordered a much more elaborate three-story theater complex built. Named the Garden of Virtue and Harmony (*Dehe Yuan*), it occupied the opposing east sector adjacent to the Long Corridor.[60] The entire length of the Long Corridor constituted a covered network, protecting users from the elements and simultaneously guiding them, efficiently, to key venues on the front slope.

No matter in what era one strolled down this Long Corridor, its paintings would have enhanced the total garden experience. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Qianlong emperor sent court painters to depict the West Lake in Hangzhou, which he initially viewed in 1751 during the first of his six Southern Tours. Upon returning he ordered colored depictions of selected scenes according to the Suzhou school of painting[61] to decorate his walkway's concave and convex beams. Painting wooden garden structures also served to protect them from decay. In all, the emperor commissioned 546 different paintings to emphasize the scholar's pastime of landscape painting in his garden. Three-dimensional, semicircular, traditional landscapes or cut flowers usually occupied the central positions on the beams, while individual blossoms or birds bordered the Jiangnan scenes.[62] Whether the Qianlong emperor also ordered depictions of popular tales is still debated among contemporary Garden of Nurtured Harmony scholars.[63]

While many of the 14,000 paintings on the Long Corridor today feature nature as of old, some 8,000 episodes from popular legends

and classical novels, which are the basis of operas and popular theaters, augment the Hangzhou landscapes. Since we are certain that both the Qianlong emperor[64] and Cixi frequented the theater and Chinese opera and made them into the court dramas, we contend that the stories depicted on the Long Corridor are very much in keeping with the purpose of the creators of the original Garden of the Clear Ripples and its reconstructed model, the Garden of Nurtured Harmony.

In sum, the Long Corridor gives a total experience of the Garden of the Clear Ripples as it reflects the taste and personality of the Qianlong emperor. Like any Chinese garden creator, he strove to represent as closely as possible the innumerable natural scenes and elements so dear to the heart of a refined scholar.

TRAVELING FROM SOUTH TO NORTH ON THE ENTIRE CENTRAL AXIS OF THE GARDEN OF THE CLEAR RIPPLES AFTER 1756

Traversing the Long Corridor and viewing the architectural and depicted garden elements brought to light essential components of the imperial Summer Palace as intended by the Qianlong emperor. Since Chinese gardens include the spirit world, it is but a short step to experience the deities venerated in the temple complexes positioned on the central axis of the Garden of the Clear Ripples. A slightly different perspective of the Clear Ripple Garden (Fig. 3.10) gives one a picture of these temples.

Besides the two routes already mentioned on the Back Hill, Qianlong must also have traversed its prominently located main central axis. Since the layout of the south or front and the north or back slopes remains the same today, its spatial composition survives intact.[65] Both slopes revolve around a middle north-south axis, a layout Chinese garden designers traditionally selected for highlighting cardinal architectural elements. An earlier example of this positioning principle is the format of the Forbidden City in Beijing. Planned in the Ming dynasty (1386-1644) to symbolize the emperor's glory, the Forbidden City's central Imperial Way extended from south to north to the major imperial palaces reserved for rulers entrusted with the Mandate of Heaven.[66] So, too, designers of the central axis of the Garden of the Clear Ripples and the other four gardens of the Garden of Perfect Brightness positioned only the most important formal

imperial buildings on it. The ones in the Garden of the Clear Ripples carried both religious and political overtones.

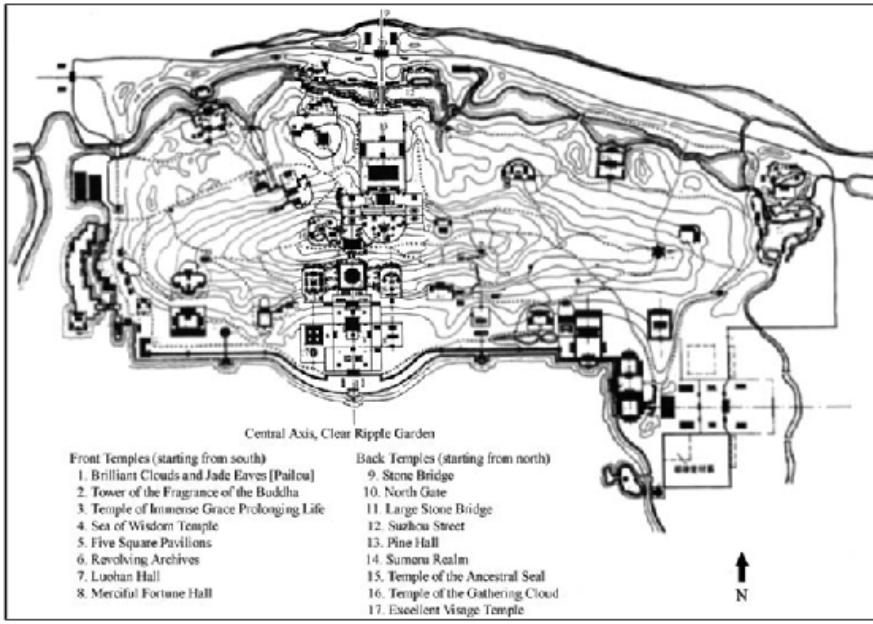

Central Axis, Clear Ripple Garden
Front Temples (starting from south)
1. Brilliant Clouds and Jade Eaves [Pailou]
2. Tower of the Fragrance of the Buddha
3. Temple of Immense Grace Prolonging Life
4. Sea of Wisdom Temple
5. Five Square Pavilions
6. Revolving Archives
7. Luohan Hall
8. Merciful Fortune Hall
Back Temples (starting from north)
9. Stone Bridge
10. North Gate
11. Large Stone Bridge
12. Suzhou Street
13. Pine Hall
14. Sumeru Realm
15. Temple of the Ancestral Seal
16. Temple of the Gathering Cloud
17. Excellent Visage Temple
N

Figure 3.10 Map of Clear Ripple Garden (Central Axis). (Siu family collection).

THE TEMPLES ON THE CENTRAL AXIS OF THE FRONT OR SOUTH SLOPE

What lay behind the choice of a southern exposure on a hill overlooking water stems from ancient feng shui beliefs, sometimes derived from common sense, that continue to dictate the orientation of Chinese buildings. Buildings should allow exposure to the sun and shelter from cold breezes. Further, a good site is backed by hills to block malevolent spirits, and it should face water. The correct positioning of buildings on the hill slope facing south on the front axis indicates that geomancers played an important role in locating them. This axis extends north from the Brilliant Clouds and Jade Eaves (*Yunhui Yuyu*) ceremonial arch (*pailou*) by the lakeside up in a straight line of lesser structures to the focal point, the imposing, octagonal tower of the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion near the peak of Longevity Hill. (Color Plate 3.5) The 44.5-foot, multistoried Buddhist temple was enhanced by setting it solidly on a nearly 22-foot-square, stone platform. From it, other yellow-roofed religious structures fan out in all four directions in strict symmetry. Though records show the

emperor had originally wanted a nine-story pagoda, he ordered the almost completed structure, already on the eighth tier, scrapped. The revised design, the largest single edifice in the Garden of the Clear Ripples, though not as high as the original structure, stands broader and grander on its prominent square terrace. Terraces in Chinese architecture are usually rectangular or square. If it is a square terrace, it corresponds to an even number and the female.[67] One correlation is to the individual to be honored, Qianlong's mother. Another is the deity venerated within, the Avalokitesvara (*Dabei Pusa*), a title for Guanyin.[68] As a focal point, the temple significantly enhanced the landscape of both the 190-foot-high Longevity Hill and all the nearby hills. The tower presents a more solid, soaring, manmade alternative to a slender pagoda. In turn, the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion profits by following the cardinal Chinese landscape and layout technique of borrowing the famous scenery of the nearby Jade Spring Hill that features a Qianlong-era soaring, tile pagoda and the more distant Western Hills.[69]

The current Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion and other structures south of it, rebuilt by the Guangxu emperor on their original locale, at a cost of 780,000 silver taels had a changed purpose: to honor Cixi.[70] Notably, the rebuilt golden-roofed, red-pillared Dispels the Clouds Hall (*Paiyun Dian*) served as a place for her to receive the nine kowtows from the filial emperor during her birthday celebrations, rather than being a shrine to honor deities or ancestral spirits.[71]

The 1756 Clothing Records reveal that the Qianlong emperor worshipped at the Temple of Immense Grace for Prolonging Life (*Dabaoen Yanshou Si*) on the fifteenth day of the eleventh Chinese month.[72] Early Qing imperial records clarify that the Temple of Gratitude for Extended Longevity was the common name the Qianlong emperor selected for this entire central temple complex on the front slope. This term springs from his already-noted filial wish of long life for his mother. Within this whole central complex, the structures were positioned on five ascending courtyards; the commanding Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion is on the fourth one. Smaller temples dedicated to various Buddhist deities graced the lower levels. On the second level, in the Great Buddha's Hall (*Daxiong Baodian*), the emperor and his mother venerated the Three Generations Buddhas (*Sanshi Fo*), while on the next level, in the Multiple Treasures Pagoda stood an Old Buddha figure made of aromatic sandalwood.[73] The original structures with strong religious themes on the whole, front, central slope were augmented then by this ascending layout to effect intense awe.

North of the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion on the fifth, or highest, level at the summit of Longevity Hill stands the Sea of Wisdom Temple. The five-bay hall is entirely of brick and stone,

without a single wooden rafter, and its outer walls are inlaid with countless glazed Buddha statuettes. In the center of this temple is prominently en-shrined a seated statue of the Guanyin bodhisattva from the South Sea Buddha Mountain (*Nanhai Putuo Shan*) area in the Jiangnan region of Zhejiang. Covered with gold leaf, she holds her usual emblems, a precious bottle in her right hand, and a willow branch in her left.[74] According to Chinese Buddhists, she is the Merciful One, who listens to the sounds (*guanyin*) of the world and holds boundless power. Women had great devotion to her, believing she answered their petitions. Because the Guanyin in the Sea of Wisdom Temple originated from South China she is often identified with Mazu, a goddess worshipped since the eleventh century, especially by boatmen and fisherman from that area. As noted in the Garden of Perfect Brightness section, thanks to the empresses dowager of the Kangxi and the Qianlong emperors, these Qing emperors took a particular interest in restoring and expanding shrines that were important to women in the Jiangnan area, especially those of Guanyin. Therefore it is not surprising that a major temple dedicated to this deity crowned the front temple complex in the Garden of the Clear Ripples.

Two sets of wings complement the main structures. The major set stands dramatically lower on either side of the south, central Buddhist temple complex, the Temple of Immense Grace for Prolonging Life. West of the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion was a cluster of small buildings, positioned in the five directions (the four points of the compass plus the middle)[75] and collectively called the Five Square Pavilions (*Wufang Ge*). Together they symbolized peace and prosperity everywhere. The central Precious Clouds Pavilion (*Baoyun Ge*), popularly known as the Bronze Pavilion, rises higher on a carved white marble base. Cast from bronze in 1755 and weighing 207 tons, it was shaped like a double-eaved, wooden pavilion with fine water chestnut designs on the partitions.[76] (Fig. 3.11) East of the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion in the first set of wings is a cluster of buildings named Revolving Archives (*Zhuanlun Cang*).[77] When the Qianlong emperor and his mother came to pray and chant scriptures, they could use a mechanism to revolve the octagonal wooden towers in the two side pavilions, which housed precious Buddhist sutras and portraits. Between these structures stood the beautifully-carved stone tablet, erected in 1751, which bore Qianlong's inscriptions of the hill's and lake's new names. Behind the stone tablet stood the main rectangular building which bore the same name as the area. Its roof featured three glazed figures representing the Three Abundances: happiness, longevity, and emolument.[78] Within, they venerated the Opening a Flower To Discover a Buddha (*Kaihua Xian Fo*),[79] meaning that the

Buddha was represented in a lotus blossom, the symbol of purity.[80]

On a lower level near to the center of the western section of the Long Corridor, the emperor erected a second set of wing structures. Positioned to the west of the Heroes Shrine, the temple on the second level of the front or south slope, was a special Arhats Hall (*Luohan Tang*) for venerating the five hundred arhats who were the senior disciples of the Buddha.[81] Directly south of the Archive complex was the two-story Merciful Fortune Building (*Cifu Lou*). This small temple featured an Old Buddha figure made of aromatic sandalwood on the first level, while a set of three-generation Buddhas graced the second tier.[82]

Figure 3.11 Bronze Pavilion (named Pavilion of the Precious Clouds) *(Baoyun Ge)*. (Siu family collection).

Since the 1756 Clothing Records reveal that the Qianlong emperor worshipped at the Temple of Immense Grace for Prolonging Life complex on the fifteenth day of the eleventh Chinese month,[83] he must have valued it highly. This is confirmed not only by its magnificent structures and layout, but also by his embellishing the complex with a host of fine Buddhist sculptures. Some deities were housed in smaller temples beside the central axis. For example, Manjusri *(Wenshu Pusa)*, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, was an especially important deity venerated by the Qing emperors in the Important Gathering Pavilion (*Zhongcui Ting*), east of the Revolving Archives. Other deities were the Three Precious Things (*Sanbao*): Bhaisajya, the Buddha of the Past; Sakyamuni Buddha; the Buddha of the Present; and Maitreya, revered as the Buddha to Come. The emperor ordered

eighteen arhats to be placed there.

According to Qing records, the Qianlong emperor likewise positioned a variety of temples, the most magnificent ones, centered on the central axis, on the Back (North) Slope of Longevity Hill. When the Garden of Nurtured Harmony was rebuilt at the beginning of the twentieth century, the costs for the multiple shrines on the front (south) slope ran so high that the emperor ordered only a single Buddhist temple on the northern site. Almost the entire Back Hill, Back Lake region lay barren until the 1960s, when the present Chinese government began reconstructing the massive central axis with some indication of the original magnificence of the Qianlong emperor's Tibetan temple complex.

The route the Qianlong emperor intended for traversing the Back temple complex started from the bottom of the hill at its northern base, rather than descending from the pinnacle of the southern slope. The design and embellishment of the peak area near the Sea of Wisdom Temple indicates the proper choice of ascending heights. Specifically, multiple rocks and dense trees beyond the temple at the top completely block any view of what lies beyond. Further, the only narrow winding path is hard to find as it slants eastward and then southward, as if a part of a circular route down the south slope. That route finally yields a view of cone-shaped Tibetan spires, the first signs of the magnificent north-central axis. A map in a recent study of the Back Hill during the Qianlong era seems upside-down, i.e., with the north at the bottom, but the text indicates the route along this segment of the central axis commences from the garden's extreme north.[84] All these garden elements indicate that the emperor intended to ascend to the summit of Longevity Hill to appreciate the north-central axis.

Starting then from the rear and base of the Garden of the Clear Ripples, the emperor passed between a pair of small wing structures before he reached a stone bridge leading to the two-story North Gate (*Beilou Men*). The alternate name of this palace gate, the Military Review Gate (*Yuewu Men*), indicates that it was a command post for scrutinizing those wishing to enter, but records also reveal that it was a military review tower. The Qianlong emperor's mother enjoyed watching the Vanguard Battalion cavalry drill outside the garden.[85] This gate and the formal layout of this antechamber area of the back central axis indicate the grandeur of the ensuing region, but at this point, wooded artificial hills blocked the entire back scenery.[86]

Once past these hills, the central axis intersected with the Back River. From the highest point of the large, three-arch, stone bridge across the middle of this rear east-west waterway, Qianlong glimpsed the majestic Back Grand Temple complex for the first time. But his

attention quickly changed to the more immediate sights and sounds from the bustling business street beneath the bridge, constituting an eighteenth century shopping mall, the Suzhou Street market area, along the Back River. At this point, from an imperial boat, the grand temples were completely obscured.

Farther south on the central axis was its intersection with the east-west Back Imperial Road. Continuing along the middle route brought Qianlong to a vast square on a higher elevation; this point constituted a transition space to prepare for the awesome venue ahead. Its name, Pines Hall (*Song Tang*), indicates the area originally featured many rows of ancient pines; the only manmade structures were three archways on its east, west, and north.[87] Following the precepts of Chinese garden design, earthen hills on either side hid the Pines Hall and prevented this section of the central axis route, measuring less than one-tenth of the total length of the Back Imperial Road, from mixing with the nearby small gardens on the northern slope.

Today, this vast bare square, bereft of pines or any discernible archway, obviously cannot convey its intended message. It remains unclear whether this area was intended to be merely a quiet, wooded transition space, as the name indicates, or whether Qianlong originally intended the large space, conspicuously devoid of architectural elements, to serve as the open-air site for Tibetan Mystery Plays. Susan Naquin's comprehensive study of the city of Beijing during the Qing dynasty reveals that, as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, colorful, exciting, Tibetan Buddhist ritual dramas at lamaseries, both in the northern suburbs and inside the imperial capital, became public spectacles with both Manchu and Mongol patronage.[88] Further, since Berthold Laufer's study indicates that these exorcistic rites were enacted outside in temple courtyards, rather than within any theater or stage, it is also possible that the square featured such dramas enacted outside the active lamasery in the Garden of the Clear Ripples.[89]

Looking back at the first part of the central axis route, from the north gate through this second intersection point, we have evidence that the Qing designers gave full play to each scenic spot without permitting its interference with any other. Of course, it was impossible and never the intention to completely separate the Back Grand Temple complex from the other parts of the Back Hill. From higher elevations along the route and other commanding spots, the emperor caught glimpses of the vast religious panorama laid out on rising levels of the hill slope all the way up to the summit. The axial scene stressed the north-south depth rather than the narrow east-west width, defined by wooded hills. Its concentrated magnificence matched the style of the entire Garden of the Clear Ripples.[90]

The Qianlong emperor obviously wanted to express his patronage of Tibetan Buddhism with the first and main religious structure he now encountered on the higher level in the heart of the Back Grand Temple complex. The massive, three-story, red-colored Sumeru Realm (*Xumi Lingjing*), named after Mount Xumi or Sumeru, on the Back Hill, like its counterpart the Universal Peace Temple (*Puning Si*) at the imperial villa at Chengde, was originally a magnificent monastery modeled after the Samye Monastery in Tibet.[91] On a still loftier plane was the partly-concealed, smaller-storied Tibetan temple named Buddha Confirming His Doctrine Pavilion (*Xiangyan Zongyin Zhige*). Together with a host of symbolic surrounding buildings, it stood directly behind the centrally-placed, vast monastery. Finally, at the summit of the Back Hill's central axis nearest the Sea of Wisdom Temple, with its tiny Buddha facade, Qianlong positioned the complex's accompanying Tibetan-style wing buildings. The size of the southwest, two-story Gathering Clouds Temple (*Yunhui Si*) in the shape of a tower[92] and the southeast Excellent Visage Temple (*Shanxian Si*), which was aligned to the tiled pagoda,[93] corresponded to normal-sized garden buildings.[94] Their proportion emphasized the grandeur of the main religious structure. Unlike the Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion, its counterpart massive temple on the front south axis, the Back Grand Temple, used the method of concealment (i.e., most of its many parts are not noticeable from the central route).[95]

Early Qing records reveal that the Three Generations Buddhas were venerated in the monastery named Sumeru Realm. To its south on a higher level, the Qianlong emperor and his mother performed rituals to the forty-two-armed Guanyin in the smaller-storied Buddha Confirming His Doctrine Pavilion.[96] Encircling it was a red Tibetan platform with twelve religious inscriptions.[97] Finally, within each of the two wing temples, in the western tower-shaped Gathering Clouds Temple's front hall, named Fragrant Sea of the True Source (*Xianghai Zhenyuan*), they honored Vairocana (*Pilu Fo*), the Buddha of Light, as belonging to or coming from the Sun.[98] Another set of Three Generations Buddhas invited devotions in the eastern Excellent Visage Temple.[99] More information on these deities will be gleaned from the subsequent section on eyewitness accounts.

What all the nineteen Tibetan Buddhist buildings positioned on the north central axis symbolized in the Qianlong era is gleaned from their common name: the Four Great Regions (*Sidabuzhou*, San. Caturdvipa). According to believers, the Buddha dwelt on Mount Sumeru in the midst of a sea. In each direction was an island or continent, simulated in this Qianlong garden venue by many accompanying structures, notably the fifteen on the second level of the north or back slope.[100] (Color Plate 3.6) The square-shaped,

northern island was named Uttarakuru; the triangular southern island was named Jambudvipa; the crescent-shaped, east island of Superior Body was called Purvavideha; and the full-moon-shaped, west island of Cattle-wealth was called Apara-godaniya. They correspond to the Buddhist theory of earth (square), fire (triangle or trapezium), wind (crescent), and water (full moon). The remaining fifteen, small structures include the eight white terraces on both sides of the four above structures. Called Astadvipa, they stand for the eight lesser islands or continents. Filling the remaining elements are the Sun Altar, Moon Altar, four Tibetan stupas that represents the Buddha's four wisdoms, and the already-mentioned, storied Buddha Confirming His Doctrine Pavilion.[101] This representational group of Tibetan structures, many grouped on the second level, have unmistakable similarities to the design of the Tibetan Universal Peace Temple in the Imperial Mountain Resort for Escaping the Heat (*Bishu shanzhuang*), the imperial summer gardens north of Beijing and the Great Wall.[102]

The nineteenth century restoration effected by Cixi radically changed the overall design of the temple complex. For example, she positioned a smaller-storied Buddhist shrine, named the Buddhist Four Great Regions Hall (*Sidabuzhou Fodian*), on the original site of the three-story Back Grand Temple monastery complex.[103] She also replaced the star-blossom-shaped, two-story Night Blooming Cereus Pavilion temple complex, which Qianlong named after the flower for religious purposes, with a cross-shaped structure raised on a platform, for scenic purposes.[104]

SOURCES FOR NORTH OR BACK SLOPE, INCLUDING DEPICTIONS AND EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

A detail of a huge painting on glass by an unknown artist depicts buildings at the foot of the northeast part of the Longevity Hill and the emperor receiving a dignitary, from the perspective of the western wall of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. When this painting was displayed at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in 1936, a descriptive note with it read: "Painting on glass—winter landscape. . . . The old summer palace in Peking which was destroyed in 1860. The snow-covered hill is the Wan-Shou-Shan [Imperial Longevity Hill]—Chinese artist unknown, perhaps by a pupil or follower of Giuseppe Castiglione, the Jesuit missionary, painter and artist. This picture and a companion piece, which shows the emperor with concubines and a

child with borrowed scenery, were painted in China for an Englishman, Mr. Richard Hall (1764-1834) between 1803 and 1805 and bequeathed by Mr. Amyand John Hall."[105] (Fig. 3.12 & 3.13)

Figure 3.12 Winter. Emperor receiving dignitary with background of Myriad Longevity Hill *(Wanshou Shan)*, Chinese painting on glass (No.11-1936), artist unknown, circa 1803-1805, bequeathed by Amyand John Hall (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

Figure 3.13 Companion piece to 3.12, Concubines and emperor with borrowed view of Myriad Longevity Hill, Chinese painting on glass (No.12-1936), artist unknown, circa 1803-1805, bequeathed by Amyand John Hall. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

If one could not see buildings on the northeast part of the Longevity Hill from the western wall of the Garden of Perfect

Brightness, as indicated by this painting, this does not prove that no buildings existed on the north slope of this hill. On the contrary, Van Braam Houckgeest, who recorded the two temples on the south side of the named hill, in January 1795, also described an important temple on the opposite side that he visited with Titsingh:

> We descended the north side of the mountain by steps of rugged stones, midway up the mountain, and fronting the north. Its principal idol is gilt all over, and represents a goddess with a good number of arms. The lower part of this temple, like the second temple we visited in the southern slope of the hill, is divided into three proportions. . . . From this temple we descended to the lower one fronting the north, in which is a colossal goddess about ninety feet high, with four faces and forty-four arms. On each side, but standing a little forwarder, [*sic*.] are two other idols, at least forty-five feet high and seeming to adore the goddess.[106]

In 1860, H. de Mondy, a member of the French Expeditionary Force in China, described the generals and officers spying several religious buildings of "impressive size" on the horizon. On closer inspection, he and a single officer discovered a veri-table "sea of religious buildings," partly hidden by trees, erected from the foot of the northern slope to its summit.[107]

One of these Western accounts included a staircase divided into three stories to view a colossal, multi-armed female deity. It likely refers to the forty-two-armed Guanyin venerated in the towering back hall named the Buddha Confirming His Doctrine Pavilion. This temple was positioned on the second level of the red-colored, main, rear temple, Sumeru Realm. This massive sandalwood figure towered over a pair of smaller attendant deities, so to view it properly the emperor had to ascend to all three levels. A well-preserved gigantic, wooden, forty-two-armed Guanyin, commissioned by the Qianlong emperor, graced the approximately 120-foot-high Mahayana Hall in the Universal Peace Temple. This hall has three entrances at different levels, like the one described by our two eyewitnesses, the better to view the beautifully shaped, 72-foot-high statue of Avalokitesvara with a thousand arms and a thousand eyes.[108] Terese Tse Bartholomew stated that the Qianlong emperor usually commissioned a pair of statues at the same time, so it is more than likely these eyewitness accounts confirm where he had placed the Chengde image's counterpart.[109]

A map of the northern slope of the park of the Longevity Hill by the Academ-ica Sinica, printed in 1936, indicates numerous religious buildings originally on the north side of the hill. It also shows the important imperial buildings that once stood in that part of the park, destroyed in 1860 and largely un-restored. To verify, however, whether any structure on the map was rebuilt according to the

Qianlong emperor's design, or modified either by Cixi or the present government, requires consulting other sources, in particular, earlier Qing records, as already indicated.

CONCLUSION

We have examined how the Qianlong emperor, in 1750 (fifteenth year of the Qianlong reign), ordered a Summer Palace, originally called the Garden of the Clear Ripples, built to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of his mother, the Xiaosheng empress. We have noted how the project required extensive engineering feats. For example, the emperor greatly expanded the Great Landing Lake to twice its size and deepened it, using the dredged materials and stones to artificially heighten the existing Jar Hill. Further, he divided the water, renamed Inherited Clarity Lake, into three parts by a causeway, modeled after one in Hangzhou's West Lake, and positioned a small Isle of the Immortals in each sector, in accord with the ancient precepts of the design of paradise gardens. With the underpinnings of the landscape, i.e., the mountains and the water, complete on the front, south slope, Qianlong replaced a Ming temple overlooking the lake with the magnificent Temple of Immense Grace for Prolonging Life. To carry out his filial theme of long life for his mother, to whom he was devoted, he renamed the artificially heightened Jar Hill, Longevity Hill and ordered a series of Daoist and Buddhist venues, including a major Tibetan monastery and temples, erected along the central north-south axis. We have also admired the emperor's other engineering feats on the back or north slope of the mountain and his creation of a stream, shaped like a series of interconnected small lakes, at the base. He created a series of small, southern-style gardens nestled in the lush woods for his mother's enjoyment as well as a bustling canal market named Suzhou Street. Not surprisingly, the entire project to honor her required fifteen years' work and was only completed in 1764. It constituted the magnificent third component of what was known as the three mountains and five gardens of the entire Garden of Perfect Brightness.

After noting several changes made to the imperial Summer Palace by Cixi in the late nineteenth century and written and visual sources of the two stages, we conclude that she replaced the original spirit of the Qianlong garden, destroyed by Anglo-French troops in 1860, with a smaller one bearing her mark. Although she retained its fine basic design, the architectural venues reveal her own preferences. For example, on the front, south, slope of Longevity Hill, dissatisfied with the restored original opera house and the Long Corridor, she

demanded a larger and more lavish opera house be erected facing her residence near the eastern terminus of the Long Corridor as well as a complex of luxurious palaces as living quarters. Moreover, she changed the rebuilt Dispels the Clouds Hall overlooking the Inherited Clarity Lake from a religious venue for venerating deities to a place to receive nine filial kowtows from the emperor on the occasion of her birthday. These changes clearly reveal her dual intentions for the Summer Palace. Renamed the Garden of Nurtured Harmony, it was intended to safeguard her political status and serve as her pleasure quarters.

Last, we have noted her failure to restore the series of southern-style gardens clearly demonstrates her limited priorities. After all, she never experienced the exquisite gardens of the Jiangnan region in their prime, as had the Qianlong emperor during his Southern Tours. Like the five gardens in his Garden of Everlasting Spring, his original Garden of the Clear Ripples with eight garden gems reveals how he greatly valued the rich legacy in garden design of natural scholar gardens embodied in southern style gardens. Not surprisingly then, she only restored one of the original eight garden venues on the north slope that lent their quiet beauty to, and enhanced the private nature of, the Qianlong emperor's Garden of the Clear Ripples. This single exception was the larger Garden of the Benevolent Mountain in the east, where she allegedly fished—aided by an enterprising eunuch, underwater.

In summary, we have discovered the inherent difficulty of discovering the true spirit and intent of the original Summer Palace in the Qianlong era through an experience of its smaller and, I contend, flawed later replica. With the aid of the 1756 Clothing Records, which document the Qianlong emperor's frequent imperial in-motion inspections and viewings of the garden in progress and other eighteenth-century sources of the original garden he erected, we have explored the original attractiveness and meaning of the Garden of the Clear Ripples, so different from the spirit of the showy, self-centered, late nineteenth century restored imperial garden known as the Summer Palace. The emperor's garden was the testament of a filial son to his mother, a devout Buddhist. He therefore honored her by ordering a succession of magnificent religious venues arranged on a central axis as well as a series of quiet, southern-inspired gardens and a bustling canal market along a stream on the wooded back slope—all according to the finest traditions of sacred and literati garden design and landscape architecture drawn from the Han Chinese and Tibetan models in the Qianlong emperor's world. We have also noted that this third segment of his Garden of the World in Miniature contained an opera house where experienced actors from Suzhou and Anhui lent

their talents in entertaining the imperial entourage. Under the emperor's patronage, the Qing court theater, whose plays were based on Chinese popular culture, reached its high point. We have seen that one favorite venue outside Beijing for the performances was in the Garden of the Clear Ripples near the western terminus of the Long Corridor, which Qianlong embellished with garden designs from the region south of the Yangzi River. Restorers of this passageway adhered to these original decorations, but also depicted scenes from popular tales familiar to every Chinese through puppet and shadow plays. The Garden of the Clear Ripples, therefore, encapsulates two more dimensions of the emperor's imperial Chinese cosmos.

NOTES

1. Geng Liutong, *Yihe Yuan* (The Summer Palace), 2nd ed. (Beijing: *Zhongguo huabao chuban gongsi*, 1996), 117; Wang Tianxing, *Yihe Yuan* (*The Summer Palace)*, 5th ed. (Beijing: China Esperanto Press, 1996), 134; and Hu, *The Way of the Virtuous*, 113-18.

2. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 8-12.

3. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 827-911.

4. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 8-9.

5. Lothar Ledderose, "The Earthly Paradise: Religious Elements in Chinese Landscape Art," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 168-69. Paradise gardens had other elements with specific religious symbolism in the hope of establishing contact with the supernatural world.

6. The present location of the painting is unknown. Previously, it was in the possession of Liu Bing-Kiun 劉秉鈞, manager of the New Shanghai Mill (上海新申紘廠).

7. Extract of Titsingh's official report appears in J. J. L. Duyvendak, "The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court (1794-1795)," *Toung Pao*, 34, no. 1-2 (1938-1939): 67.

8. Andres Everard Van Braam Houckgeest, *An Authentic Account of the Embassy of the Dutch East India Company to the Court of China in the Years 1794 and 1795*. 2 vols. (London: Printed for R. Phillips, 1798), 1: 225.

9. *Daily Life in the Forbidden City*, 267.

10. Xu Fengtong, comp., *Yihe Yuan quwen* (Interesting reports about the *Yihe Yuan*) (Beijing: *Zhongguo luyou chubanshe*, 1986), 40-44.

11. Hu, *The Way of the Virtuous*, 114.

12. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 83. It is said that the legendary Emperor Yu

tamed the Great Flood by throwing iron oxen into the water. Two members of the British Expeditionary Force in China in 1860, Colonel (later Field Marshall) Gernet Joseph Wolseley and Consul Robert Swinhoe, gave correct and comprehensive eyewitness accounts of the place. See Gernet Joseph Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), 283-84; and Robert Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1861), 332 for comprehensive accounts of the southern slope of the garden.

13. Jin Bailing, "*Qingyi Yuan houshande zaoyuan yishu he yuanlin jianzhu*" (Qingyi Yuan's back mountain: its garden art and architecture), *Yuanming Yuan* 3 (1984): 150-61.

14. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 836.

15. *Yuanming Yuan*, 3 (1984) 140-45.

16. Jin, "Qingyi Yuan," 150.

17. Ibid., 152.

18. Ibid., 152-53; Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 117 with photo; Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 134 with photograph.

19. Jin, "Qingyi Yuan," 153-54.

20. Ibid., 846-47.

21. Yang Hongxun, *The Classical Gardens of China: History and Design Techniques*, trans. Wang Hui Min (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1982), 38.

22. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 102.

23. Chen Congzhou, *Yangzhou yuanlin . . .* (The gardens of Yangzhou) (Shanghai: *Shanghai kexue jiyi chubanshe*, 1983), 3-4 and map, [no p.].

24. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 104-105.

25. Ibid., 106-107.

26. Ibid., 114-15.

27. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 74.

28. Unlike the two initial gardens on the waterway, some remnants of these no longer intact venues are still extant, as we shall see with the ensuing land route walk.

29. Yang, *The Classical Gardens of China*, 38.

30. It was never restored.

31. Jin, "Qingyi Yuan," 154.

32. *Nanxun shengdian*, 1771, Zhuan 98, vol. 55, Tau 7, 1-3; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 98; Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 96. We shall soon see in an ensuing chapter that this Garden of the Benevolent Mountain inspired the emperor to order another venue on the adjacent Jade Spring Hill.

33. Zhou Weiquan, "*Qingyi Yuan shilu*" (A brief history of the *Qingyi Yuan*), *Yuanming Yuan*, 3 (1984): 144.

34. Yang, *The Classical Gardens of China*, 41-42; Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 131 with photograph.

35. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 96-97.

36. See Zhou's footnotes, in "*Qingyi Yuan*," 147-49. He had access to difficult to obtain Longevity Hill and Inherited Clarity Lake sources. Few Chinese garden specialists have shed much light on the back gardens.

37. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 141. Many of these images have suffered damages subsequent to the initial 1860 destruction by English and French troops.

38. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," list, no. 74, 144.

39. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 107. Only the foundation of the tower remains.

40. Jin, "*Qingyi Yuan*," 158. Little else is available about the three.

41. Ibid., 158-59.

42. As noted, the newly restored garden is now called Garden of Harmonious Pleasures.

43. Jin, "*Qingyi Yuan*," 159.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., 154-55.

46. Ledderose, "The Earthly Paradise," 172-73.

47. *The Summer Palace Long Corridor Pictures: A Collection of Stories Portrayed by Them*, trans. and comp. Li Nianpei (Beijing: China Travel and Tourism Press, 1985), ii.

48. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 42-43.

49. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 55.

50. *The Summer Palace Long Corridor*, 1.

51. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 56.

52. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 856, 859-60, 886-87, 907, 910.

53. Cixi renamed it the Benevolence and Longevity Hall (*Renshou Dian*). In it the Guangxu emperor and she held court. The hall bears that name today. See Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 22-25.

54. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 42-43.

55. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 61.

56. Terese Tse Bartholomew, formerly curator of Himalayan studies and Chinese decorative arts, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, is unfamiliar with Guanyin in this context; usually it is Buddha emerging from the Mountain. Perhaps Qianlong invented the term to emphasize the location of the image apparently emerging from their side of the mountain.

57. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," list, no. 31, 141. Most contemporary authors omit the religious dimension.

58. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 95; Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," list, nos. 3 and 30;

141.

59. *Yihe Yuan* (Beijing: *Beijing chubanshe*, 1978), 64.

60. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 42-47.

61. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 50. The Suzhou area boasted many fine private gardens during the Ming and even the earlier Yuan era.

62. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 58-59.

63. Xu Fengtong and Geng Liutong, telephone interviews by Professor Rose Chen 陳若斯, Beijing, China, December 1999, recorded in letter to author, January 2, 2000. Although Xu asserts the presence of these paintings from the earliest years of the Long Corridor, his colleague Geng implicitly cautions against any assertion by stating no reliable Qing sources exist on the subject for the original structure.

64. For evidence that the Qianlong period was the heyday of the Qing court theater, see Mackerras, *The Rise of the Peking Opera*, 116-19, 123. See also Berthold Laufer, *Oriental Theatricals. Guide. Part 1* (Chicago: [Field Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropolgy], 1923), 36-40, for the history and appeal of the Shadow Play and the Puppet Play.

65. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 82, 109.

66. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 1-15, 172; Yu Zhuoyun, comp., Ng, Mau-sang, Chan Sinwai and Puwen Lee with the assistance of Graham Hutt, eds., *Palaces of the Forbidden City* (New York: Viking Press, 1984), 24-25.

67. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 287.

68. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," 141; Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 74.

69. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 52-53.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., 58-59.

72. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 910. Most contemporary studies of the New Summer Palace (*Yihe Yuan*) omit this venue on the south or front center.

73. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," map and list, no. 20, 141-44. The Chinese thought wood from the base of the sandalwood tree was more aromatic.

74. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 77. The temple survived the 1860 fires as did its major Buddhist deity within. However, these small exterior Buddhas suffered damage during the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976.

75. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 105.

76. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 79-80; Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," list, no. 21, 141. The bronze allowed the structure to survive the 1860 flames, but foreign invaders looted the image of Sakyamuni, the Buddha, honored within.

77. Pamela Kyle Crossley thinks this is probably a play on words as *zhuanlun* could also refer to the revolving wheel of time, the

cakravartin (that is, the Qinglong emperor and his predecessors) are the *zhuanlun wang*.

78. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 81-83. This tablet survived.

79. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," list, no. 23, 141.

80. Today devotees may purchase automata of this image where the lotus unfolds to reveal the Buddha.

81. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," list, no. 22, 141.

82. Ibid., no. 24, 141.

83. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 910.

84. Jin, "Qingyi Yuan," 155; map, 150-51.

85. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 154.

86. Jin, "Qingyi Yuan," 155-56.

87. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 145. Only the beautifully carved pillar stones now mark their positions, though the north one supports a recently restored arch that is screened off away from the beaten path.

88. Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 443.

89. Laufer, *Oriental Theatricals*, 42-52. He includes photos of costumed figures or terrifying masks used on the festival of New Year in the great *Yonghegong* temple in Beijing. Terese Tse Batholomew, interview by author, San Francisco, Calif., January 3, 2000, confirmed that what is now called Pine Hall, which abuts the grand, central Tibetan monastery in the Garden of the Clear Ripples, might well be the venue of mystery plays performed for the Qianlong court during festivals, yet direct mentions in imperial records would strengthen the case. See also Marion H. Duncan, *Harvest Festival Dramas of Tibet* (Hong Kong: Orient Publishing Co., 1955), 9-21.

90. Jin, "*Qingyi Yuan*," 156.

91. Terese Tse Bartholomew, "Three Thangkas from Chengde," *Tibetan Studies* (reprint), *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Narita, 1989* (Narita: Naritasan, 1989): 1.

92. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 137, 143.

93. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 106.

94. Jin, "*Qingyi Yuan*," 160.

95. Ibid., 156.

96. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," 144.

97. Jin, "*Qingyi Yuan*," 156.

98. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, comp. Wm. Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1937).

99. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," 144. According to Wang, in *Yihe Yuan*, 141-42, though a bronze Buddha (unidentified by experts), still graces the west shrine, it is accessible solely by a tortuous path. Only a tiled

gate and a side hall, painted red, remain of the east temple today.

100. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," 144.

101. Geng, *Yihe Yuan*, 107, 109 augmented with Fu Qingyuan, *Rehe xinggong* (*Imperial Mountain Resort*) (Chengde: *Zhongguo jianshe chubanshe chuban*, 1989), [34-38.] Geng calls the Tibetan stupas pagodas.

102. Ibid., [36.] A difference is that the more distant temple's rear section comprised twenty-seven structures laid out in the mandala style with the Mahayana Hall in the center.

103. Zhou, "*Qingyi Yuan*," Back Hill map, 142-43.

104. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 86. Recent restorations by the Chinese government of the massive red central Tibetan building and a host of smaller structures, some graced with pointed domes, near the summit of the hill also fail to correspond closely with the design or quality of the original monastic complex erected by the Qianlong emperor. For example, an impressive central building, upon closer examination is only a solid replica—without rooms, real windows, or entrances.

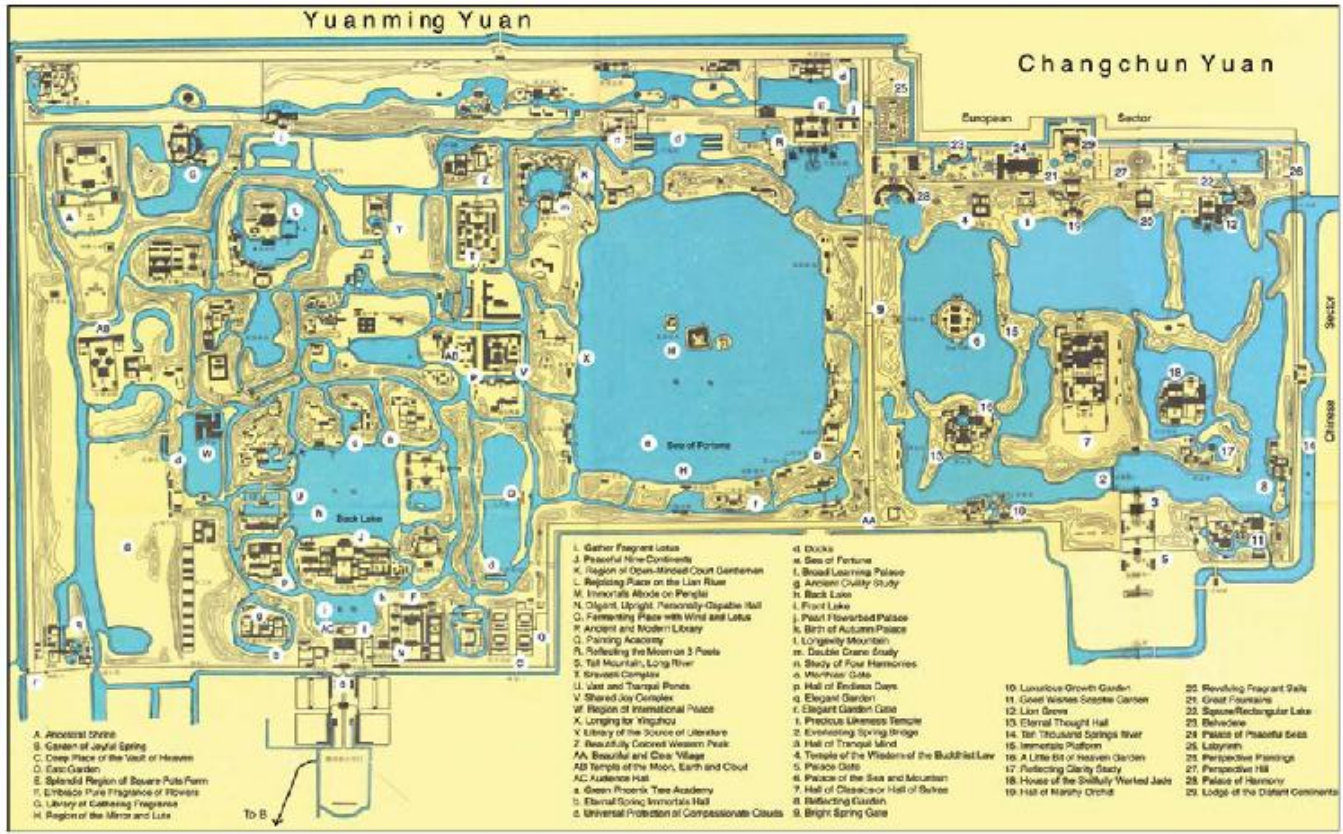
105. For more details, see *Victoria and Albert Museum Review of the Principle Acquisitions, 1936*, 26-27. The painting measures 45 5/8 in. x 75 1/2 in.

106. Braam Houckgeest, *An Authentic Account*, 1: 226-27. In Paul Varin, *Expédition de Chine* (Paris: Michel Levy frères, 1862), 242-43. Varin, a member of the French Expeditionary Force in China in 1860, also left an account of a towering Buddha with a feminine head and nine arms in the region. A three-story staircase was built to examine this goddess.

107. H. de Mondy, "*Souvenirs de l'expédition de Chine*," 82-83. Unpublished translation by John T. P. Siu.

108. Fu, *Rehe xinggong*, [34-38, 42]. The statue weighs 110 tons.

109. Terese Tse Batholomew, interview by author, San Francisco, Calif., January 3, 2000.


Yuanming Yuan
Changchun Yuan
European Sector
Chinese Sector
Sea of Fortune
Back Lake
To B
A. Ancestral Shrine
B. Garden of Joyful Spring
C. Deep Place of the Vault of Heaven
D. East Garden
E. Splendid Region of Bevere Pure Form
F. Embrace Pure Fragrance of Flowers
G. Library of Gathering Fragrance
H. Region of the Mirror and Lute
I. Gather Fragrant Lotus
J. Peaceful Nine-Continents
K. Region of Open-Minded Court Gentlemen
L. Rejoicing Place on the Lian River
M. Immortals Abode on Penglai
N. Diligent, Upright, Personality-Capable Hall
O. Fermenting Place with Wind and Lotus
P. Ancient and Modern Library
Q. Painting Academy
R. Reflecting the Moon on 3 Pools
S. Tall Mountain, Long River
T. Kirayeh Complex
U. Vast and Tranquil Ponds
V. Shared Joy Complex
W. Region of International Peace
X. Longing for Yingzhou
Y. Library of the Source of Literature
Z. Beautifully Colored Western Peak
AA. Beautiful and Clear Village
AB. Temple of the Moon, Earth and Cloud
AC. Audience Hall
a. Green Phoenix Tree Academy
b. Eternal Spring Immortals Hall
c. Universal Protection of Compassionate Clouds
d. Docks
e. Sea of Fortune
f. Broad Learning Palace
g. Ancient Civility Study
h. Back Lake
i. Front Lake
j. Pearl Flowerbed Palace
k. Birth of Autumn Palace
l. Longevity Mountain
m. Double Crane Study
n. Study of Four Harmonies
o. Wenhsien Gate
p. Hall of Endless Days
q. Elegant Garden
r. Elegant Garden Gate
1. Precious Likeness Temple
2. Embossing Spring Bridge
3. Hall of Tranquil Mind
4. Temple of the Wisdom of the Buddhist Law
5. Palace Gate
6. Palace of the Sea and Mountain
7. Hall of Classics or Hall of Selves
8. Reflecting Garden
9. Bright Spring Gate
10. Luxurious Growth Garden
11. Good Wishes Seaside Garden
12. Lion Grove
13. Eternal Thought Hall
14. Ten Thousand Springs River
15. Immortals Platform
16. A Little Bit of Heaven Garden
17. Reflecting Clarity Study
18. House of the Skillfully Worked Jade
19. Hall of Marshy Orchid
20. Revolving Fragrant Stalls
21. Great Fountains
22. Square/Rectangular Lake
23. Belvedere
24. Palace of Peaceful Seas
25. Labyrinth
26. Perspective Paintings
27. Perspective Hill
28. Palace of Harmony
29. Lodge of the Distant Continents

Intro. 1 Tourist Map, Yuanming Yuan. (No copyright; for sale widely in Beijing).

Cover & Intro. 2 Ding Guanpeng, detail of Imperial concubines chatting about favors of the emperor [in courtyard with bonsai] (Gong fei hua chong tu), hanging scroll, colors on silk, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).

Color Plate 1.1 Qianlong emperor honoring his mother. Court artists, detail from Birthday Celebrations in Palace of Benevolent Peace (Cining Yan Xi Tu), handscroll, colors on silk, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).

Color Plate 1.2 Cloud Pillar (Pailou), Ancestral Shrine ruin, now at Beijing University. (Photograph by Rose Chen).

Color Plate 1.3 Rhinoceros Horn. Within a setting of pine trees and rocks are scholars with servants beside a winding stream, located to the left, for a poetry contest, eighteenth century. (Asian Art Museum of San Francisco).

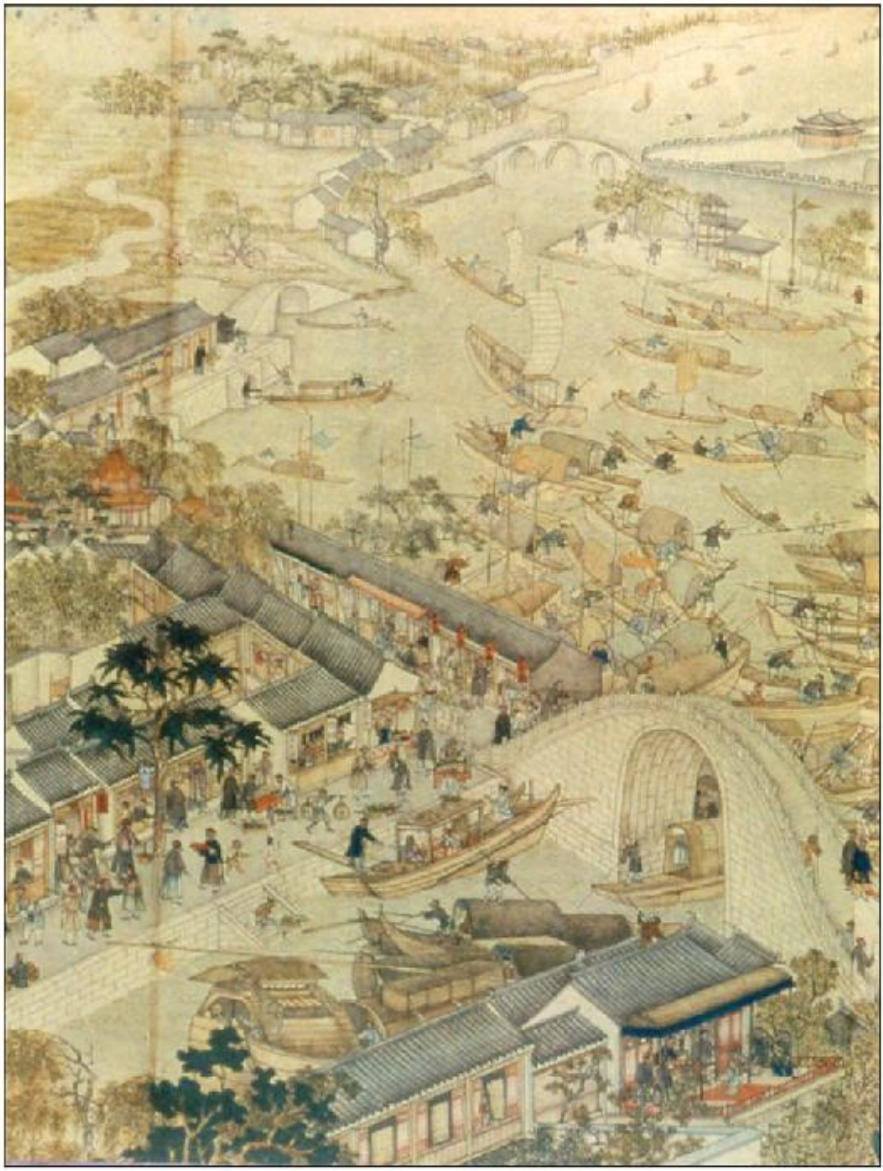
Color Plate 1.4 Marble Circular Altar, Temple of Heaven (Tiantai), Beijing. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).

Color Plate 1.5 Penglai Isle with ruins. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).

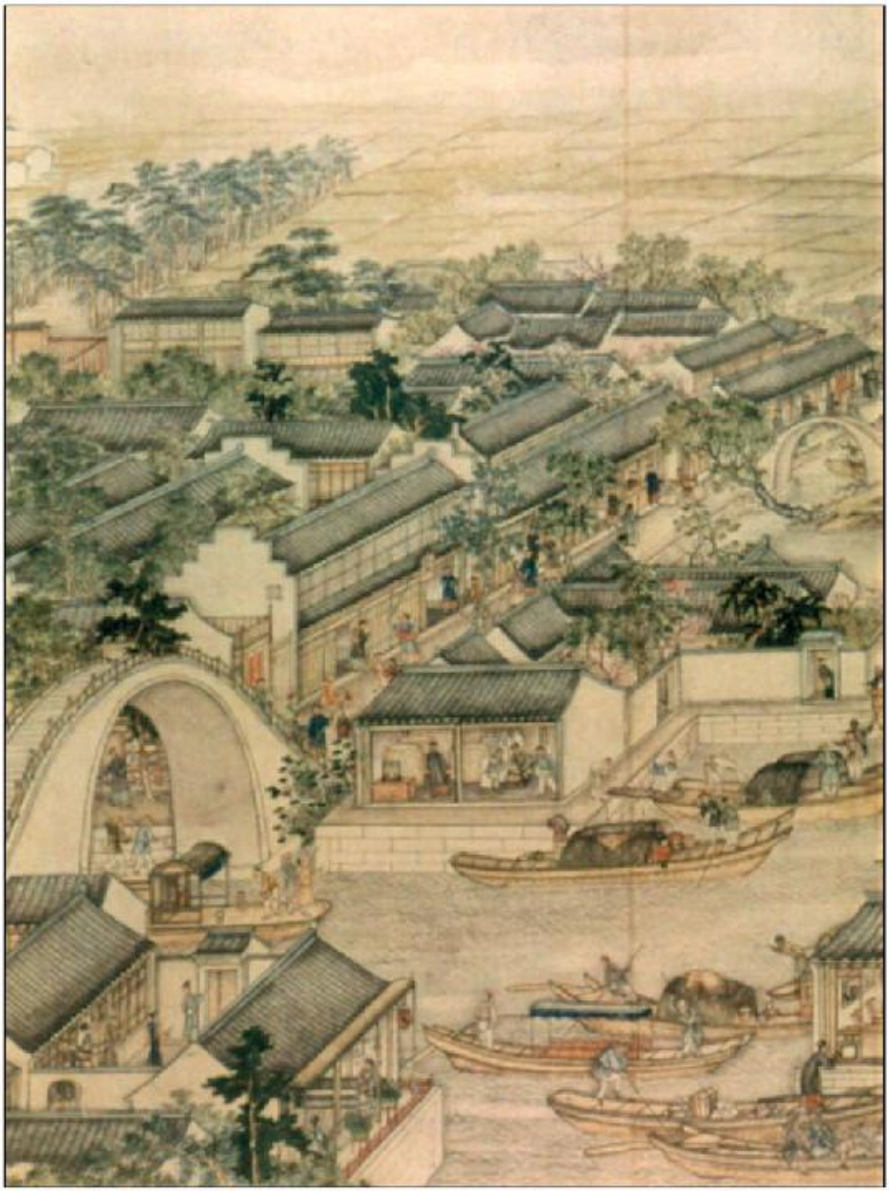
Color Plate 1.6 Dragon Boat Race (Saichuan Chou) with acrobats, enamel. (Asian Art Museum of San Francisco).

Color Plate 1.7 Emperor Qianlong Hunting Astride Horse, detail of Getting Deer with Strong Arrow (Wei Hu Huo Lu), Qing court artists, handscroll, colors on paper, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).

Color Plate 1.8 Qianlong Admiring the Moon (Hongli Guan Yue Tu), Castiglione and court artists, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).



Color Plate 2.1 Busy Suzhou Street on canals, detail from "Prosperous Suzhou" (Gu-su Fan Hua Tu), by Xu Yang, handscroll, colors on paper, eighteenth century. (Liaoning Provincial Museum).



Color Plate 2.2 Boatmen on Waterway, detail from "Prosperous Suzhou" by Xu Yang.

Color Plate 2.3 Long Corridor (Chang Lang), Summer Palace.
(Photograph by Tomoyuki Uchida. www.yunphoto.net/en/photobase/yp5068.html).

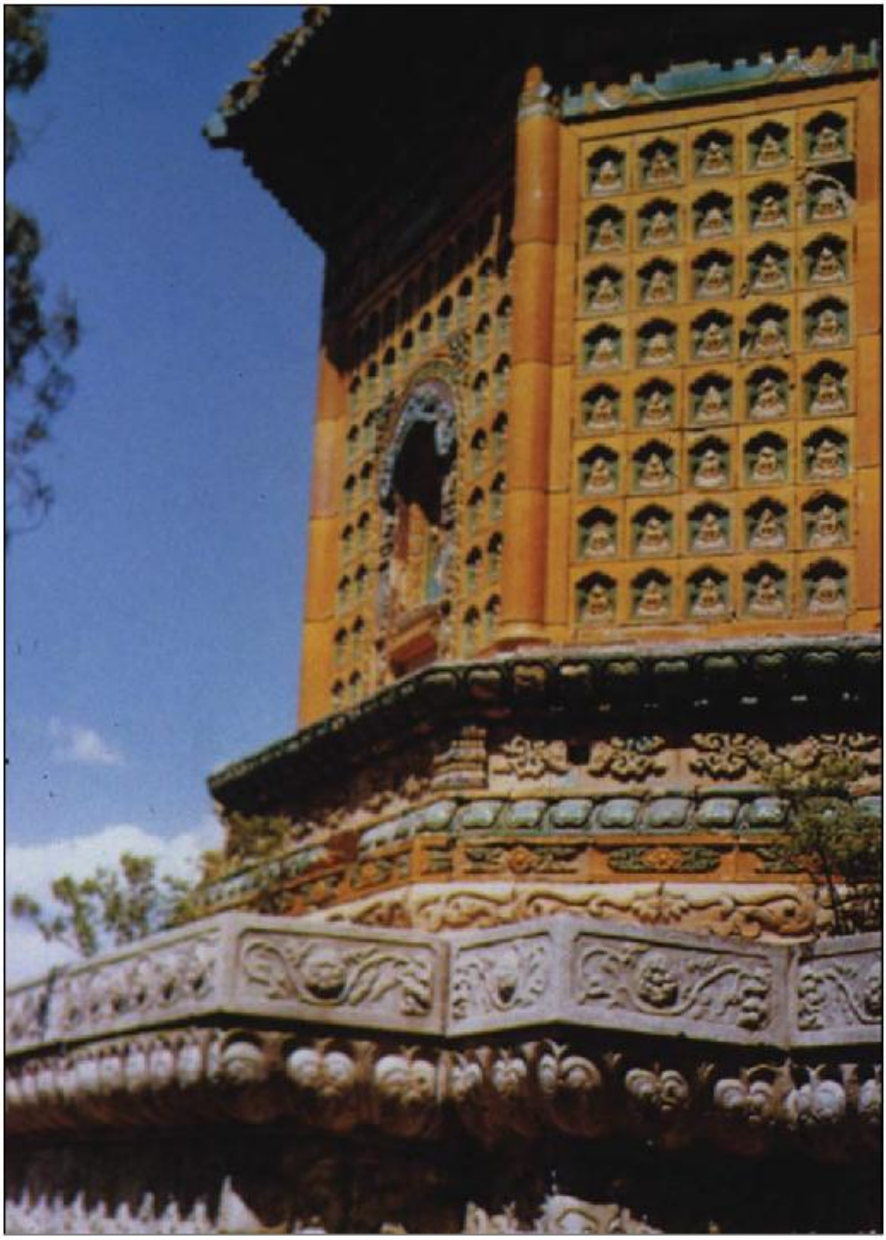
Color Plate 2.4 Ceiling, Long Corridor, Summer Palace.
(Photograph by Tomoyuki Uchida. www.yunphoto.net/en/photobase/yp5069.html).

Color Plate 2.5 Waterlocks/Water gate ruin, Lion Grove. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).

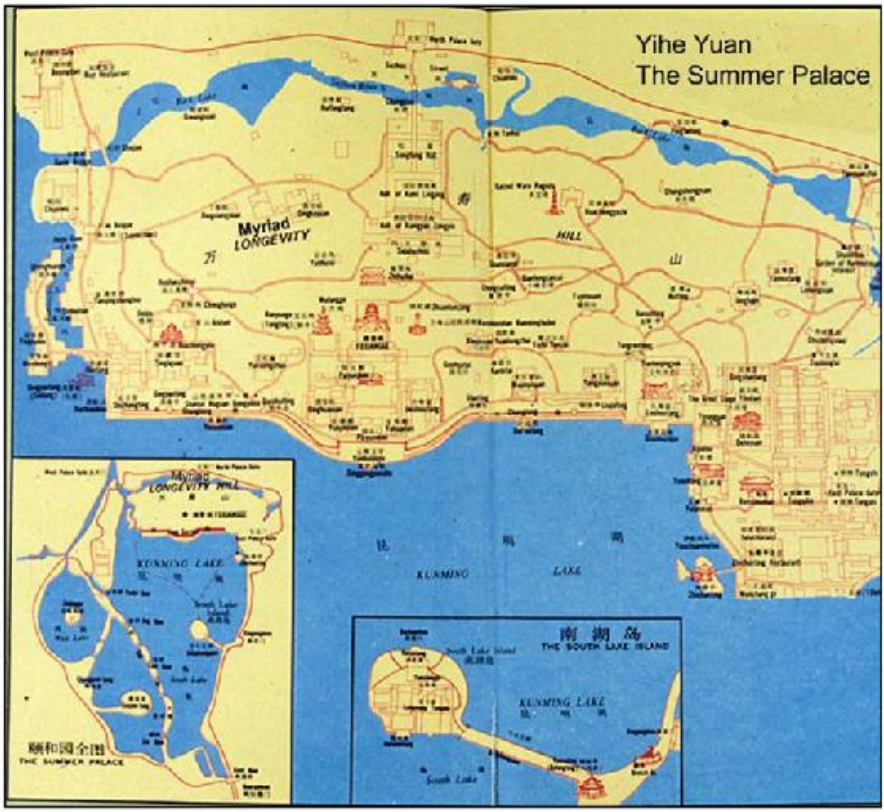
Color Plate 2.6 Rehe's Literary Garden, Lion Grove in paintings and verses (Rehe Wen Yuan Shizi Lin Tushi), detail, by Dong Cao. Hanging scroll, light colors on silk, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).

Color Plate 2.7 Bronze Immortal Statue for Gathering Dew. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).

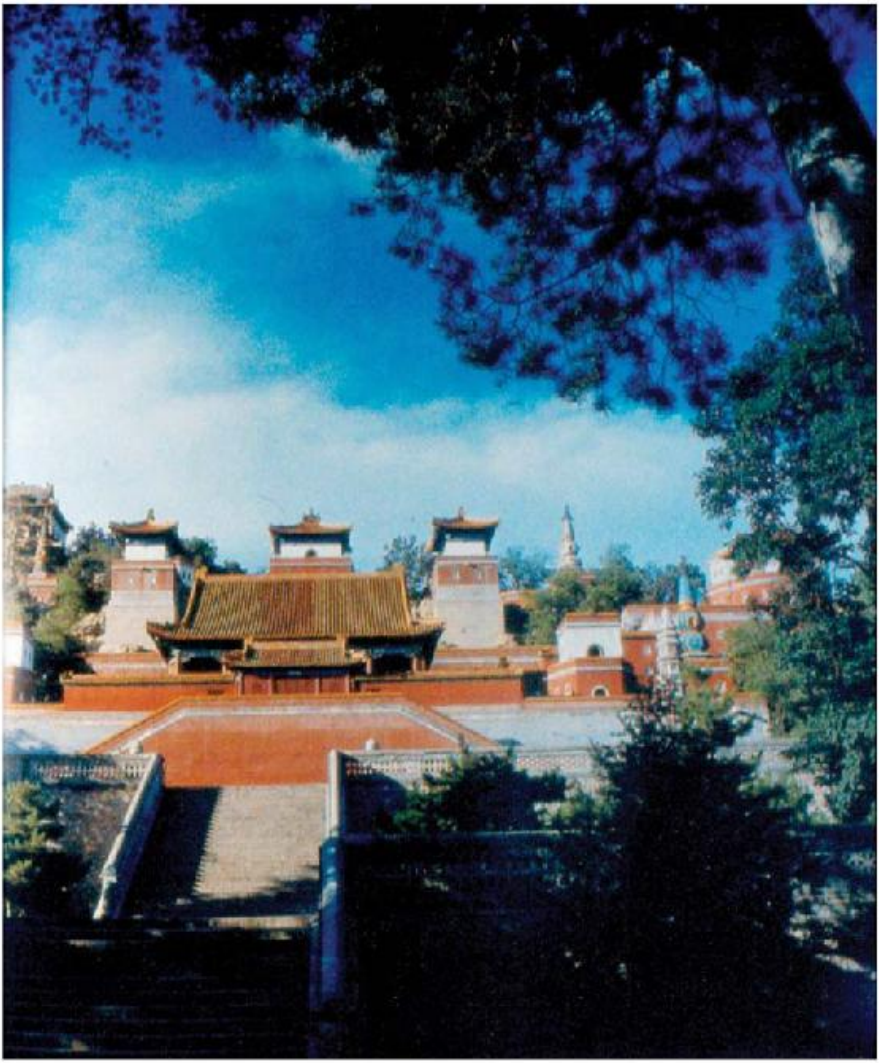
Color Plate 2.8 Multiple Treasures Pagoda (Duobao Ta). (Photograph by Victoria Siu).



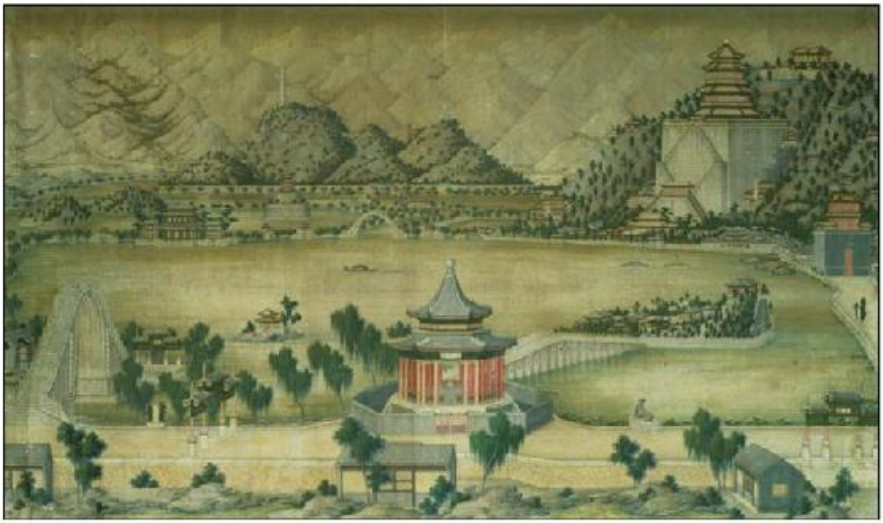
Color Plate 2.9 Multiple Treasures Pagoda (Duobao Ta), detail. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).



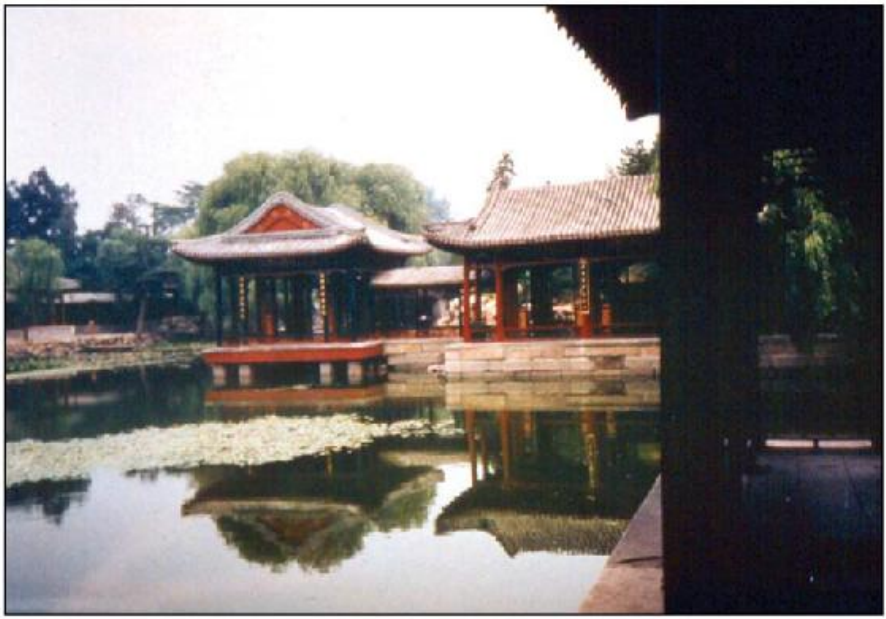
Color Plate 3.1 Map of Summer Palace. (Siu family collection).



Color Plate 3.2 Temple of the Buddha Conforming His Doctrine (Xiangyan Zongyin Zhige). (Photograph by Victoria Siu).



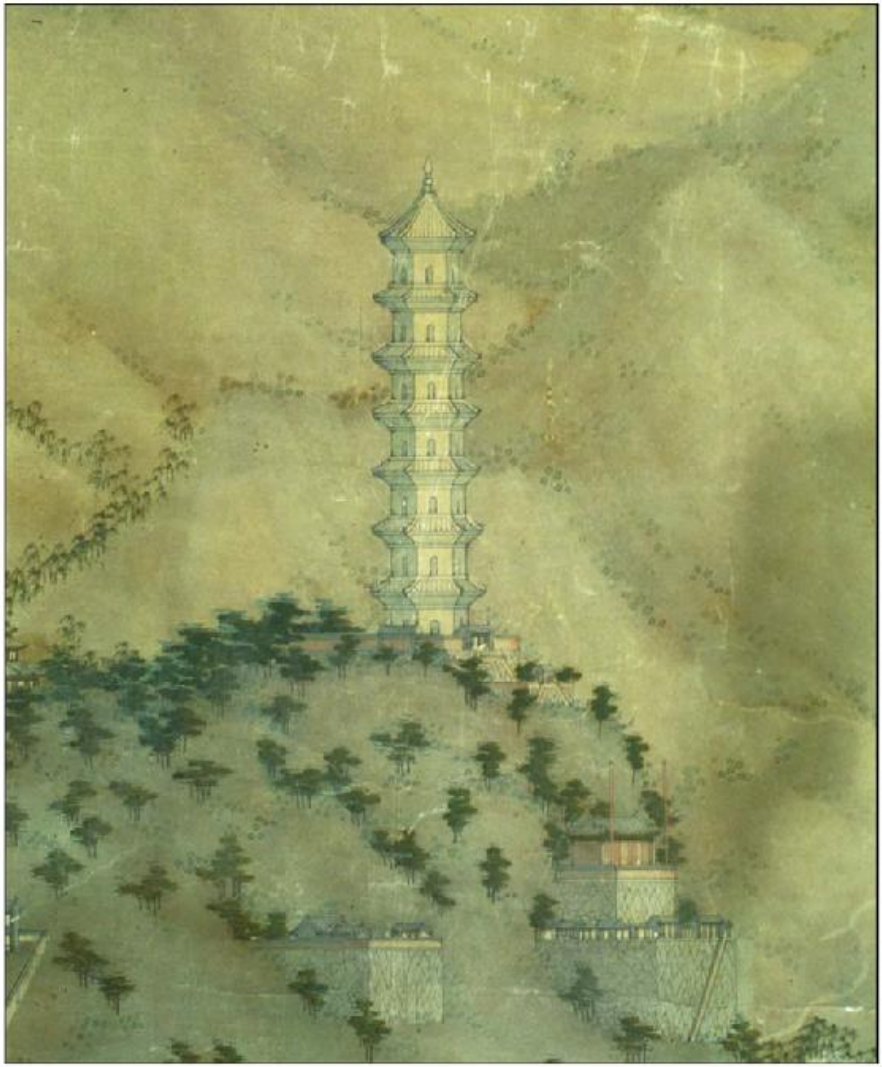
Color Plate 3.3 Summer Palace southern slope, Court artists, colors on paper, 1888. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).



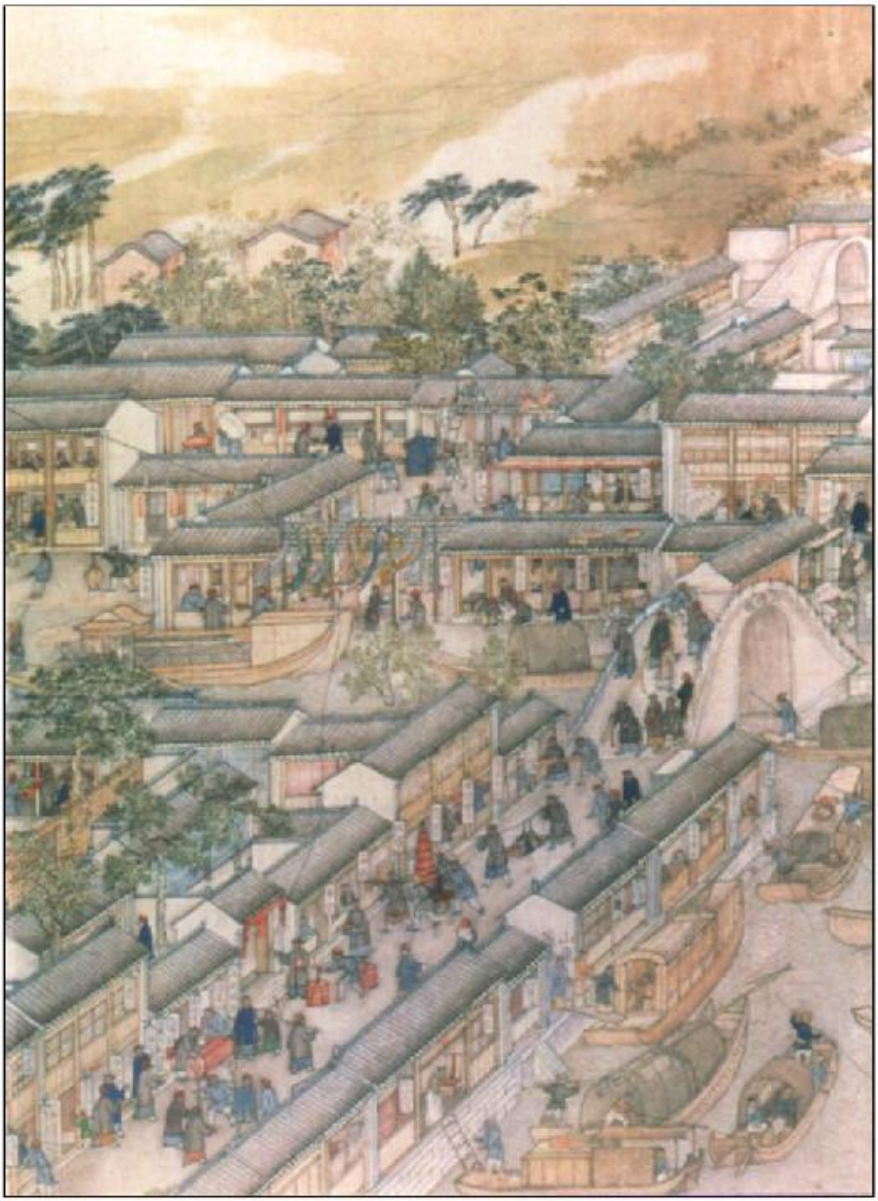
Color Plate 3.4 Garden of Harmonious Pleasures (Xiequ Yuan), Summer Palace. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).

Color Plate 3.5 Front temples rising on levels, Summer Palace. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).

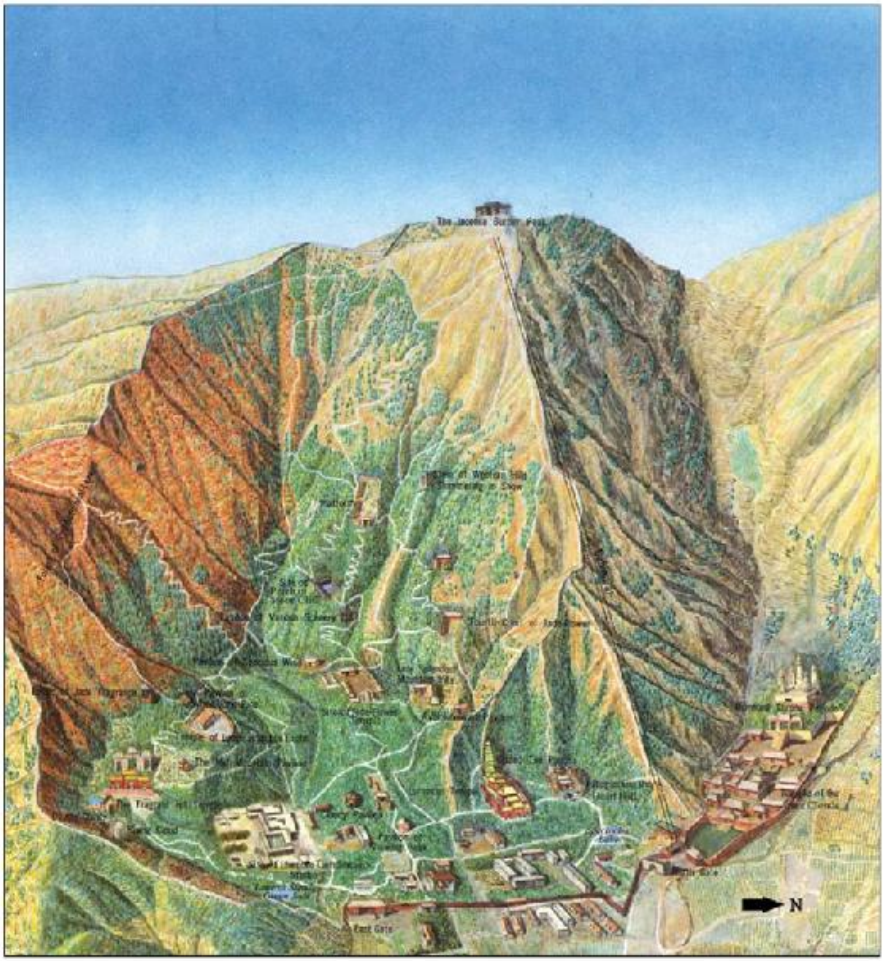
Color Plate 3.6 Rear temples rising on slope, Summer Palace. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).



Color Plate 4.1 Jade Peak Pagoda (Yufeng Ta), on highest peak, borrowed view detail, Summer Palace, Court artists, colors on paper, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).

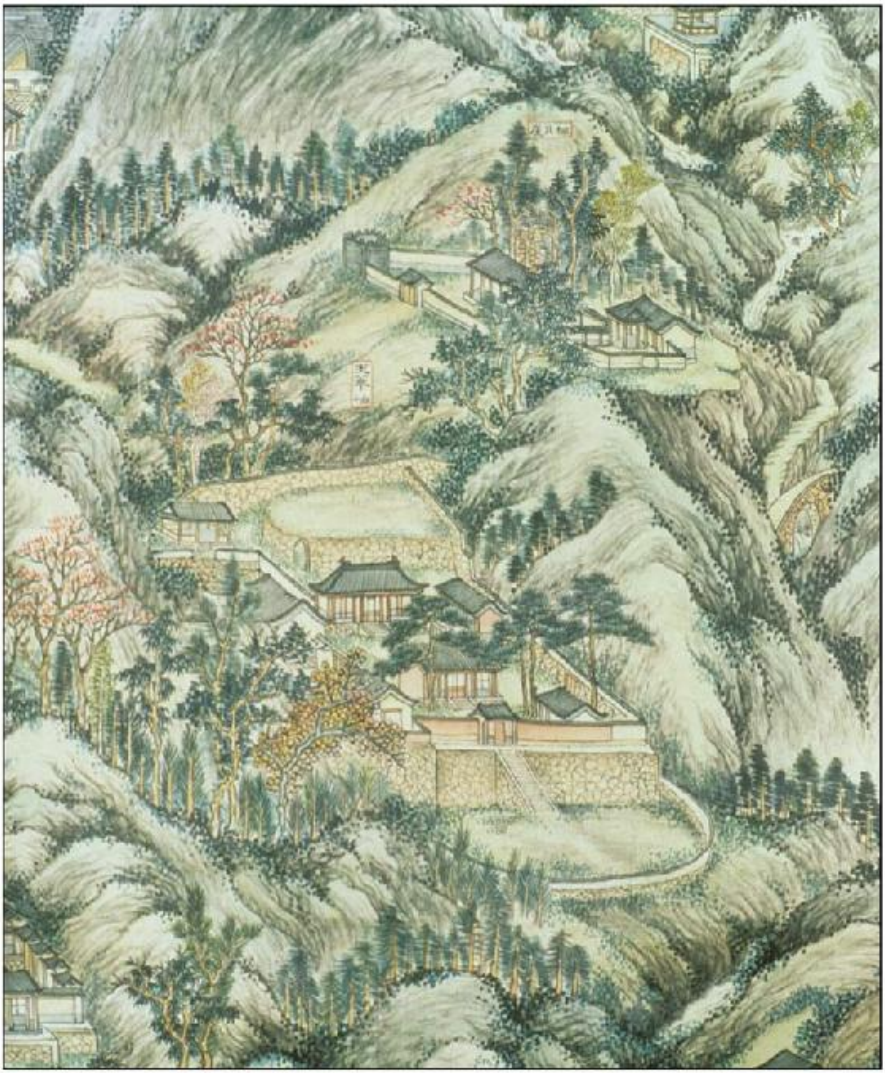


Color Plate 4.2 Teahouse, Penjing and Other Stores, detail from "Prosperous Suzhou" by Xu Yang.



Color Plate 5.1 Map of Garden of Quiet Delight in three-dimensional perspective. (Su family collection).

Color Plate 5.2 Fragrant Hill Temple (Xiang Shan Si), detail from Garden of Quiet Delight's Twenty-eight Scenic Views, by Zhang Ruocheng, Qianlong era, handscroll, ink and light colors on paper, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).



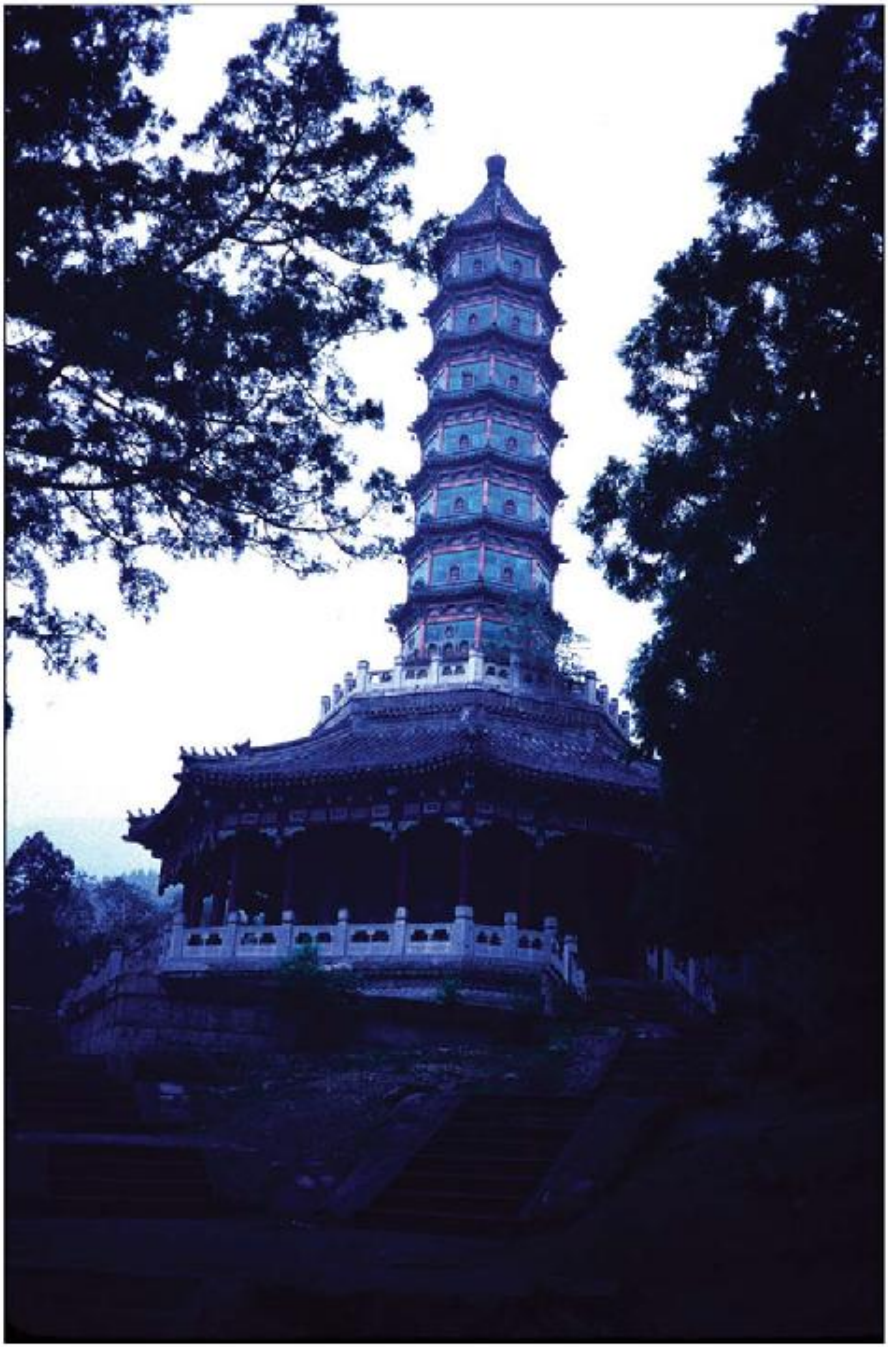
Color Plate 5.3 Jade Flowers Peak (Yuhua Xiu), part of Jade Flower Temple (Yuhua Si), detail from Garden of Quiet Delight's Twenty-eight Scenic Views, by Zhang Ruocheng, Qianlong era, hand-scroll, ink and light colors on paper, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).

Color Plate 5.4 Garden of Quiet Delight's Twenty-eight Scenic Views (Jingyi Yuan Ershiba Jing Tu), by Zhang Ruocheng, Qianlong era, handscroll, ink and light colors on paper, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).

Color Plate 5.5 Diligence in State Affairs Hall (Qin Zheng Dian), detail from Garden of Quiet Delight's Twenty-eight Scenic Views, by Zhang Ruocheng. Qianlong era, handscroll, ink and light colors on paper, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).

Color Plate 5.6 Arrival of Green Hall (Laiqing Xuan), detail from Garden of Quiet Delight's Twenty-eight Scenic Views, by Zhang Ruocheng, Qianlong era, handscroll, ink and light colors on paper, eighteenth century. (National Palace Museum, Beijing).

Color Plate 5.7 Pailou with sign in many languages, Luminous Temple (Zhao Miao). (Photograph by Victoria Siu).



Color Plate 5.8 Pagoda behind Luminous Temple. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).

Chapter Four

The Garden of Tranquil Luminescence (*Jingming Yuan*) on Jade Spring Hill (*Yuquan Shan*)

Atop Jade Spring Hill, about three miles west of the Garden of Nurtured Harmony (*Yihe Yuan*), popularly known as the Summer Palace, is the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence.[1] (Fig. 4.1) It is the fourth of the five gardens that constitute the Garden of Perfect Brightness (*Yuanming Yuan*). Though smaller than three of the other four gardens bearing that famous name,[2] since the twelfth century the locale served as a religious and aesthetic venue with palaces and temples on its several peaks. Emperors related to its natural features for two reasons: first, its 330-foot hill[3] is the first fully-natural prominence west of the capital and its very flat environs,[4] and second, the Jade Spring Hill featured an abundance of clear, sweet spring water. One spring, at a southwest venue, spouted upward for thirty feet or more before rushing down precipitous slopes.[5] Chinese likened this water to crystal jade. The confluence of these two outstanding natural phenomena inspired the Qianlong emperor's architectural additions: the Jade Springs' religious counterpart, the Dragon King Temple (*Longwang Miao*) and his two favorite tea houses in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence. (Fig. 4.2)

ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF THE

GARDEN OF TRANQUIL LUMINESCENCE

According to the scant scholarly materials and studies presently available on the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence,[6] it was probably the oldest imperial venue in the western suburb of the capital to become incorporated in the five gardens of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. The first recorded structure at the site dates from the twelfth century when Zhangzong (r. 1190-1201), a non-Han ruler of the Jin dynasty (1115-1234) in north China, built a moveable Temporary Imperial Palace at Fountain Park (*Quanshui Xinggong*) at the foot of the mountain. Two famous buildings constructed during his time were the Hibiscus Hall (*Furong dian*)[7] and the Lu Temple (*Lü Gong*) for worshipping Lu Dongbin, one of the Eight Daoist Immortals.

The first architectural edifices at this outstanding natural venue were indirectly the handiwork of the Han Chinese emperors of the Song dynasty. The Khitans, a Mongol people, had forced the Chinese imperial court to flee to Hangzhou where they established the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279). When a Tungusic people, the Jurchens, in turn, attacked the Khitans, the Chinese allied with the new barbarian power to crush their old foes. The Jurchen established the Jin dynasty, but only in north China. Like their Liao predecessors, they forced the conquered inhabitants into their service. In 1127, they captured the Song emperor Huizong (r. 1082-1135), along with his household, experts, and treasures. Since he was the leader of a sophisticated Chinese society, the semi-nomadic people learned firsthand how Han Chinese rulers lived. Gradually, too, they settled down and became great builders. The earliest extant architectural temple structures in China proper, many of them considered impressive, are of Khitan or Jin origin.[8] Thus the conquered Chinese of the Song dynasty indirectly fashioned the architectural structures in north China, including the no-longer-extant ones on Jade Spring Hill, by assisting the semi-nomadic barbarian leaders in bridging a huge cultural gap.

Garden of Tranquil Luminescence
1. Small East Gate
2. Barge House
3. Jade Spring Lake
4. Main Palace Gate
5. Vast and Greatly Beneficial Hall
6. Brilliant Hibiscus
7. Source of Jade Springs
8. Dragon King Temple
9. Mountain Cottage of the Bamboo Jar
10. Source of Elegance Pavilion
11. Caves of Guanyin
12. Tower of the Sino-Tibetan Union
13. Shadow Mirror Lake
14. Hearing the Rustling Bamboo
15. Books and Painting Barge House
16. Hall of Literary Classics
17. Wondrous High Pagoda
18. Wondrous High Temple
19. Hall of Admirable Obligation
20. Lanka Cave
21. Splendor Hall
22. Perfect Taste House
23. Temple of Perfect Accord
24. West Lake
25. Containing Waves Study
26. Clear Cool Clan Place
27. Temple of Virtue and Cultivation
28. Temple of the Buddhist Grace
29. Pagoda
30. Hall to Beckon Cranes
31. Zither Tone on Snowy Peak
32. The Coolest Place
33. Cross Shaped Pavilion
34. Shadow of the Jade Peak Pagoda
35. Fragrant Majestic Temple
36 Wondrous High House
37. Touching the Clouds Tower
38. Hall of the Crane's Repose
39. Grotto of the Demon's Submission
40. Glorious Majestic Temple
41. Ancient Glorious Majestic Temple
42. Sound of the Bells Beyond Clouds
43. Water and Moon Grotto
44. Room for Distancing the Heart
45. Lohan Cave
46. Deep Place in Azure Clouds
N

Figure 4.1 Map of Garden of Tranquil Luminescence (*Jingming Yuan*), Georges Bouillard, early twentieth century. (Siu family collection).

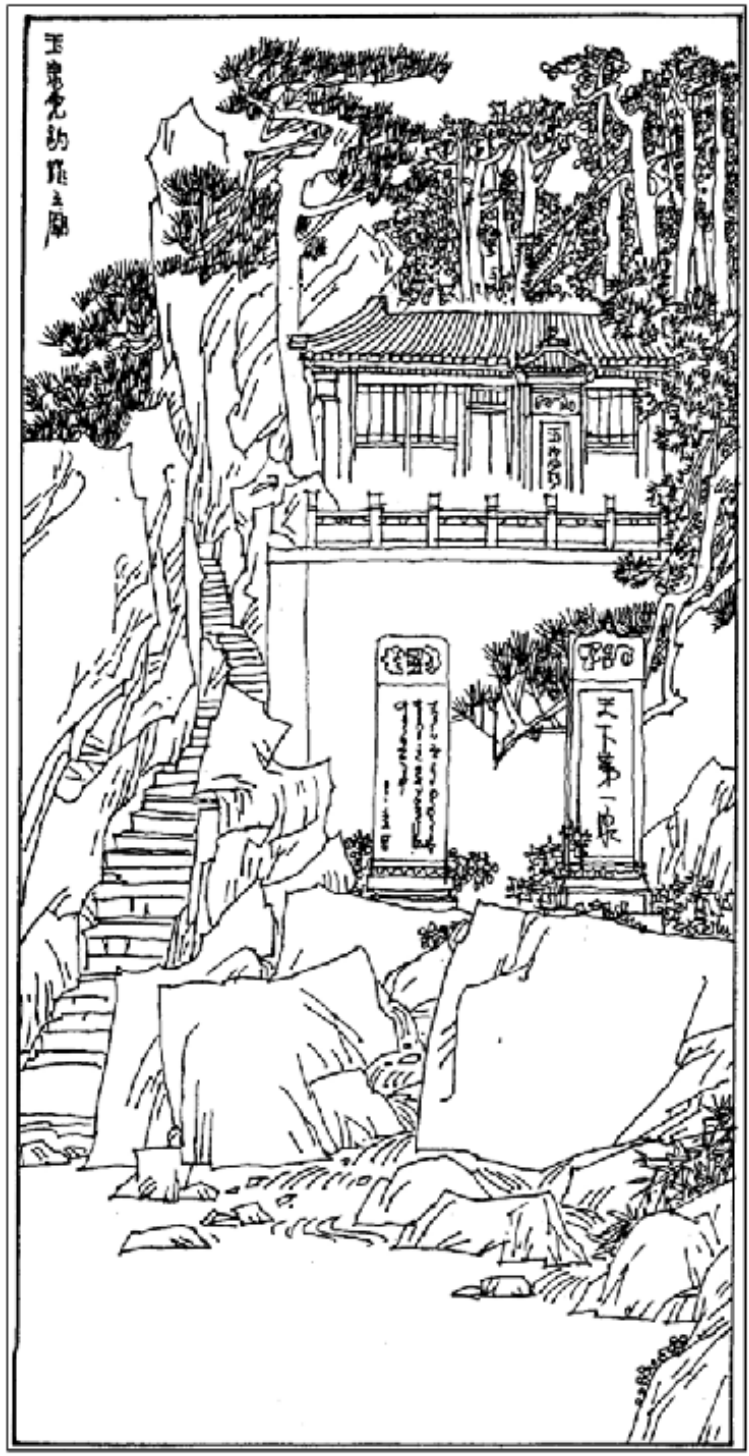


Figure 4.2 Dragon King Temple *(Longwang Miao)*. (Siu family collection).

The Jin dynasty lasted until 1234, when the Mongols destroyed it. Surviving structures erected by Mongolian rulers are not only considered impressive; some rank Yuan dynasty (1260-1368) temples at the capital as more magnificent than their Ming and Qing counterparts.[9] Unfortunately, no traces of Yuan architecture survive in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence although Yuan Shizu (Kublai Khan, r. 1260-94) admired the scenic venue and is said to have erected a temple on the heights, with a palace at the Jade Spring Hill's base.[10]

Since most of the emperors of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) sponsored both Buddhism and Daoism, it is not surprising to learn that the Ming Yingzong (r. 1436-49 and 1457-1467), erected two temples, named the Glorious Magnificent/Amplified Magnificence Temple (*Huayan Si*), on Jade Spring Hill.[11] They constituted a fraction of Ming-funded Buddhist and Daoist temples in the greater capital region, which were said to have numbered 639 before 1481. Temples continued to proliferate until an uninterrupted chain of sacred sites, staffed by thousands of monks, was visible from the summit of the West Hills (*Xi Shan*) to the capital.[12]

Struck by the beauty of the western site, the Qing Shunzhi emperor (1644-1661), erected architectural elements both above and below the site of the old Ming temple. The name he selected for the garden, Garden to Calm the Mind (*Dengxin Yuan*), suggests he appreciated the tranquility among its heights and springs. His successor, the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722) showed his keen appreciation of Jade Spring Hill, its grottoes, and its clear stream by gracing the venue with elegant structures, many of them extant, beginning in 1680. In 1692, he officially renamed the venue the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence. His grandson, the Qianlong emperor, selectively enhanced the garden to demonstrate aspects of the Chinese cosmos hitherto not explicitly articulated by his predecessors in this imperial venue.

Among the important buildings Kangxi erected was the several-storied Multiple Scenes Building (*Duojing Lou*). He is more remembered, however, for creating magnificent temples. Two were dedicated to Buddhism, one to Daoism, and one other to the spirits of the hill. From these and the earlier temples at this location, it is clear that rulers often selected this mountain venue for purposes of worship.[13]

Kangxi's two Buddhist shrines were the Buddhist Grace Temple (*Shengyuan Si*), situated in the west of the imperial garden, and the Wondrous High Temple (*Miaogao Si*) on the peak of a northern hill. The latter was a white, onion-shaped Tibetan dagoba in the temple complex of the same name. The Daoist shrine was the Perfected Warrior Temple (*Zhenwu Miao*). The Daoist god, the Perfected

Warrior, originated as early as the late Warring States period (475-221 B.C.) when he was known as the Dark Warrior (*Xuanwu*) and was the ancient symbol of the north.[14] This temple had a large hall named Precious Hall of the Daoist Chief or Yuzhen (*Yuzhen Baodian*), which is still extant and is located in the central section on the western slope of the mountain.[15] The shrine dedicated to the mountain's spirits, located in the same western area, was called the Virtue and Cultivation Palace (*Renyu Gong*).

The Kangxi emperor is most remembered, however, for erecting three of the four, seven-storied pagodas, which still make the area gardens famous. The creators of pagodas, further uplifted by mountains, were attempting to enhance the view by gazing ever higher. The first pagoda was the white Tibetan Wondrous High Temple, which was in the north temple complex of the same name. The second was the three-storied, green and gold, encaustic-tiled shaft situated on the western slope of the hill, in the Buddhist Grace Temple. It was one of a set of five, enameled-tile pagodas the Qing emperors placed in four of their five gardens in the western region of Beijing. Three of these pagodas have survived. (Another, located in the imperial summer palace at Chengde, is also extant.) The third pagoda, the seven-storied carved marble one named Jade Peak Pagoda (*Yufeng Ta*) graces the central and highest summit of the Jade Spring Hill. It still serves as a major landmark of the western region. Qing court painters of the Garden of Nurtured Harmony often included this hilltop structure as borrowed scenery, an essential element in Chinese landscape or garden design.[16] (Color Plate 4.1). Also visible on the northern slope of a lower hill is the white Tibetan dagoba.[17]

JADE SPRING HILL: AN ADMIRED NATURAL SITE

Two recent studies by Kiyohiko Munakata and Craig Clunas reveal how the Chinese view heights as important in gardens.[18] Their seminal concepts enrich any study of the Jade Spring Hill, site of the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence.

The Chinese revere numerous mountains. Some are nationally important such as the sacred Mount Tai and others are locally significant. It is difficult to determine when and how the worship of mountains started in China, but we know that emperors as early as the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1027-256 B.C.) prayed at imperial altars to the sacred mountains, regarding them as embodiments of mysterious power that would ensure the state's prosperity.[19] *The Kangxi Emperor's*

Southern Inspection Tour to Shandong at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is a pictorial testament of this sacred rite's continuance by the Qing.[20] The Qianlong emperor continued these rituals and dispatched imperial messengers to individual mountains to ask their favor. These rituals were elevated manifestations of popular religious beliefs of Chinese commoners that cloud-covered mountains could provide the water for their crops.[21]

Followers of religious Daoism, which developed from the second century onward, associated great mountains with the realms of the Immortals. This belief became a major inspirational source for artists, poets, and followers of Chinese popular religions. Relatively few scholars have explored Buddhist aspects of mountain art and architecture. Instead, they chose to illustrate either how Confucian literati regarded mountains as places of political refuge from unjust authorities, or how Daoist recluses sought spiritual enlightenment there.[22]

Clunas helps us explore religious aspects of mountain iconography during the Ming and Qing dynasties. He cites Ellen Johnston Laing for drawing attention to Daoist metaphors of height. She points out the frequent appearance of hills or towers and other storied structures in literary and pictorial descriptions of gardens. Elevations provide a view that carries a gazer outside the human world. Another connotation of height she notes: "A favorite theme in Chinese poetry is the survey of the past, a review of history conveyed by titles or lines referring to ascending a height, by images evoked by looking into the distance, by poetic comments contrasting the permanence of mountains and rivers with the brevity of human life by recalling historical personalities. This ascending 'to have a look' . . . means rising above the here and now and looking into the past."[23]

Mountains, heights, and religions were fruitfully blended by the Ming, and the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors drew on this rich Chinese cultural tradition when creating scenes or utilizing in-motion viewing on the Jade Spring Hill. In *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (*Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*), the Chinese convention that mountain views should include pagodas is articulated. They would generate the feeling that one could touch the stars, whose spirits govern rivers and mountains. These passages help us understand the Chinese view that mountains in paintings are not completely right without some human transformations.[24] Judicious landscaping transforms them into spirit spaces.[25]

Old Beijing geography records and two contemporary eyewitness accounts reveal what the Qianlong emperor contributed to the garden on Jade Spring Hill and the waterways connecting it to several other Garden of Perfect Brightness venues. (Fig. 4.3). The emperor built far

less in this garden than the one on Longevity Hill, a sign of moderation and respect for the natural environment. His few deliberate additions, however, suggest his grasp of two essentials of a successful painting or garden creation: He possessed an intense, quiet appreciation of the mountain and water aesthetics at the Jade Spring Hill venue—along with some of their associated religious, popular, and even fantastic elements, especially the Dragon King beliefs, rituals, and lore. And he possessed a desire to encapsulate the well-developed Chinese tea culture in an ideal unique setting to which every Chinese painter, literatus, and even peasant would have craved admittance.

JADE SPRING WATER: ADMIRED FOR ITS PURITY

Chinese rank the spring water from the Jade Spring Hill as among the highest quality in the country. The jade in the name is a symbol for clarity or purity, for which it is legendary. The water originates from numerous large and small springs surrounding the mountain. Their water, abundantly available year round, collects in a lake. This lake once provided all the water for Beijing. During the Qianlong era, the water channels, which connected Beijing to the Garden of Perfect Brightness and its satellite imperial gardens, also served as waterways for imperial barges.

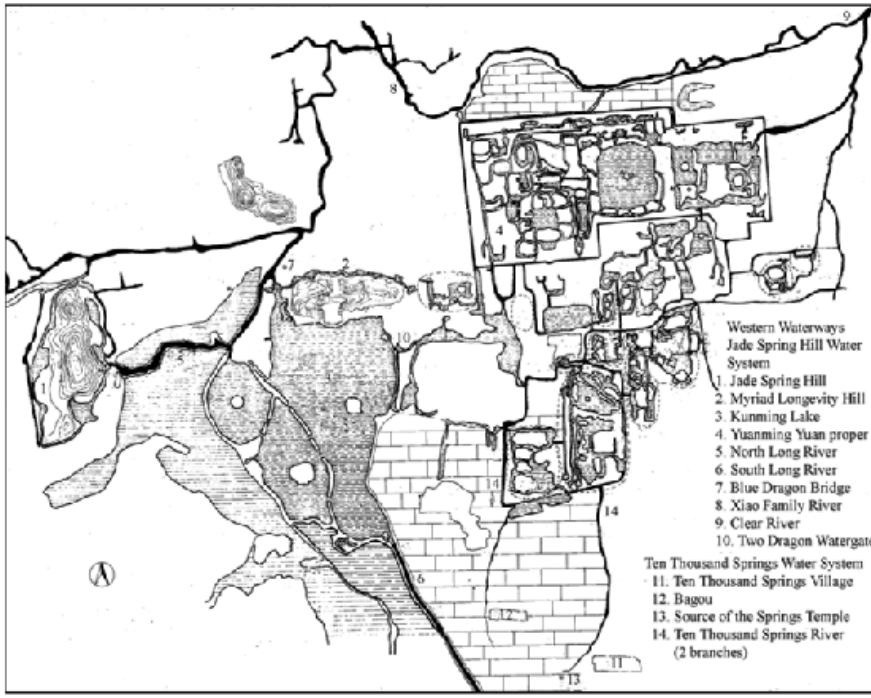

Western Waterways
Jade Spring Hill Water System
1. Jade Spring Hill
2. Myriad Longevity Hill
3. Kunming Lake
4. Yuanming Yuan proper
5. North Long River
6. South Long River
7. Blue Dragon Bridge
8. Xiao Family River
9. Clear River
10. Two Dragon Watergate
Ten Thousand Springs Water System
11. Ten Thousand Springs Village
12. Bagou
13. Source of the Springs Temple
14. Ten Thousand Springs River (2 branches)

Figure 4.3 Map of Waterways, region west of Beijing. (Siu family collection).

Qing-dynasty engineers of this waterway perfected the system that enabled spring waters from the Jade Spring Hill to feed the North Long River (*Beichang He*), also called the Jade River (*Yu He*). In turn, this river flowed into Inherited Clarity Lake (*Kunming Hu*), originally called Jar Mountain Lake (*Weng Shan Hu*), in the Garden of the Clear Ripples, now called the Garden of Nurtured Harmony, or simply the Summer Palace. The lake waters, originating from the western Jade Spring Hill, passed into the South Long River (*Nanchang He*), which subsequently entered the capital at West Direct Gate (*Xizhi Men*). Through wide canals, the water finally flowed into three artificially created lakes, named the North Lake (*Bei Hai*), the Middle Lake (*Zhong Hai*) and the South Lake (*Nan Hai*), which lie immediately west of the Forbidden City (*Zijincheng*) in central Beijing.[26]

A part of the story of Beijing's western suburbs is that it has two water systems: the Jade Spring Hill's and the Ten Thousand Springs River's (*Wanquan He*). Since these systems guaranteed abundant waters, an essential element in landscape design, large and small gardens sprang up along them. The era of garden building in the western region reached a peak during the Qianlong period. It was then that the abundant private gardens west of the capital became integrated into a magnificent pattern centered on the Garden of Perfect Brightness. The Chinese epitomized the phenomena by

describing it as a multitude of stars encircling the moon (*zhong xing gong yue*).[27]

The Jade Spring Hill water system is the result of a deep geological split that enabled a steady outflow of fine quality karst[28] water. The water is so abundant that it still is an important source for Beijing. To reach the Inherited Clarity Lake to its east, the mountain's spring water surges down the slopes from the heights with such force that one portion flows through the North Long River into the lake. Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin dynasty first accomplished this engineering feat.[29] The other portion of mountain water initially coursed northward into canals from the Blue Dragon Bridge (*Qinglong Qiao*) to the Xiao Family River (*Xiaojia He*). Through the latter it flowed eastward passing the northern boundary of the Garden of Perfect Brightness until it swelled the waters of the Clear River (*Qing He*). In the Qing era, engineers constructed fifteen-to-thirty-feet embankments on the southern slopes of the Xiao Family River to prevent flooding of the Garden of Perfect Brightness.[30]

At the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, the Mongols began excavating the Great Effluent Pool (*Taiye Chi*), today's North, Middle, and South Lakes, in their capital of Dadu, now Beijing. To bring Jade Spring Hill water from what is now the Inherited Clarity Lake to their new western lakes, they dredged the lake reservoir to enlarge its capacity. They also built a water floodgate at the Blue Dragon Bridge to the lake's northwest. By this means, some water destined for the Xiao Family River was diverted into present-day Inherited Clarity Lake, thereby raising its water level. To enable the spring water from this reservoir to reach the city in Kublai Khan's era, Guo Shoujing, his chief engineer,[31] constructed a canal to facilitate the water's movement by a series of high and low water tables along what is now the Long River.[32]

During the Qianlong era, a final engineering feat augmented the water supplies to these three lakes west of the Forbidden City as well as to the Garden of Perfect Brightness. The emperor greatly enlarged Inherited Clarity Lake eastward, and he ordered the designated area dredged, then used mortar on the east shore of the lake to build a dike. He added a long embankment to the Long River's eastern shore, thus enabling the conduit to carry more water to the capital in the southeast, and as a result the water level of the three lakes rose.

To direct more spring water toward the Garden of Perfect Brightness, the Qianlong emperor ordered the opening of the Two Dragons Watergate (*Erlong Zha*) at the northeast of Inherited Clarity Lake. Before this was accomplished, only the Ten Thousand Springs River water system, which we will subsequently describe, supplied water to this imperial garden. This system proved insufficient after the

emperor enlarged his favorite venue, so engineers tapped the water of the Inherited Clarity Lake. They again raised the lake's water level with spring water from the Jade Spring Hill. Even though the lake's elevation is twelve to eighteen feet higher than the Garden of Perfect Brightness, the water, once it passed the Two Dragons Watergate and joined the water from the Ten Thousand Spring River system, had enough force to flow into the Garden of Perfect Brightness.[33] (Fig. 4.4)

Figure 4.4 Stele with Qianlong inscription of Best Spring Waters, old photograph. (Siu family collection).

The Ten Thousand Springs River's water system has its source at Ten Thousand Springs Village (*Wanquan Zhuang*), which lies directly south of the Garden of Perfect Brightness, southeast of Inherited Clarity Lake, and about midway between the lake and the capital. Unlike any other suburb of Beijing, the whole northwest region, especially the area from Ten Thousand Springs Village to Eight Gullies (*Bagou*), has many natural springs. During the Qing era, this venue featured no fewer than twenty-eight sites with famous springs, the most important at the region around Source of the Springs Temple (*Quanzong Miao*), where the underground outflow of collected spring water converges into the two branches of the Ten Thousand Springs River.[34]

The reason this river does not supply water to the capital is that the terrain south of Ten Thousand Springs Village gradually becomes higher, preventing the water from flowing toward Beijing. Enabled by engineering feats undertaken over the centuries, the water of the Ten

Thousand Springs River converges with the water from both Inherited Clarity Lake and the Long River, as well as water from other springs. As a result, several gardens, including the Garden of Perfect Brightness, received the water they need. Some of the remaining spring water from the Ten Thousand Springs River flowed north past the imperial gardens and joined the eastward flowing Xiao Family River to form the Clear River.[35]

Thus, engineering feats beginning in the twelfth century under the Jin dynasty and continuing into the eighteenth century under the Qing dynasty enabled these two water systems to carry pure spring water to the capital and to the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Well-constructed wide canals allowed the Qing emperors to travel by imperial barges from the capital or the Garden of Perfect Brightness to the satellite imperial gardens to the west. These waterways remained serviceable long after the fall of the Manchu dynasty, as attested by oral history and photographs.

EXPERIENCING THE GARDEN OF TRANQUIL LUMINESCENCE WITH THE QIANLONG EMPEROR IN 1756

The recently-published Garden of Perfect Brightness records of 1756 (twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign) reveal the emperor visited the imperial garden on the Jade Spring Hill eighteen times while living in the garden.[36] Utilizing Qing imperial records, recent Western studies based on them,[37] a contemporary work by Chinese imperial garden scholars, and an early twentieth-century French eyewitness account by G. Bouillard,[38] we can reconstruct the Qianlong emperor's 1756 in-motion viewing in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence. Aiding us is a composite map of the venue based both on a simplified contemporary one by He Zhongyi and Zeng Zhaofen, the Chinese Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars, and an early 1900s rendition of the garden's layout by Bouillard (partially cited by Maurice Fabré). (Fig. 4.5)

In a subsequent section, we will focus on the design of Qianlong's Dragon King Temple and two teahouses, and elaborate on the rituals he performed there: for rain at the temple and for refreshing the spirit through the Chan-inspired Chinese tea ceremony at his teahouse.

In 1756, the Qianlong emperor normally traveled to the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence first by four-man palanquin from the Garden of Perfect Brightness and then to the Garden of Nurtured Harmony/

Summer Palace docks on Inherited Clarity Lake. He then changed to an imperial barge, embarking on the North Long River. On reaching his intended garden, he docked at a stone pier and entered through the Small East Gate (*Xiaodong Men*), one of six entrances extant in the early twentieth century.[39] The imperial barge then used an interior waterway to the barge house on the northern shore of Jade Spring Lake (*Yuquan Hu*). On the fourteenth day of the sixth Chinese month, however, the emperor chose to ride horseback the whole way from the Garden of Perfect Brightness,[40] while on the nineteenth day of that month he sailed to the main imperial garden from the Jade Spring Hill. He entered the Garden of Perfect Brightness through the Garden of Elegance Gate, also called the Gate of the Aquatic Park (*Zaoyuan Men*).

The emperor entered the southern section of the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence through the main imperial gate, called South Palace Gate (*Nangong Men*). Outside the gate stood a pair of halls, on the east and the west, and three honorific arches.[41] Together they formed a square outside the palace and signaled the formal nature of the imperial garden.

The principal seven-bay reception hall, named Grand Duke who Stands Aloof (*Kuoran Dugong*), stood just inside the main entrance, amid a major cluster of buildings around Jade Spring Lake. It featured as a background the Kangxi emperor's Jade Peak Pagoda (*Yufeng Ta*) on the highest summit of the mountain. The Qianlong emperor often administered affairs at this site during the hot summers, but the 1756 records reveal it was infrequently used compared to other venues.[42] A pair of five-bay reception halls and, in the second court, the Containing Ten Thousand Springs Hall (*Hanwanquan Dian*) abutted the lake and completed the grand southern shore complex.

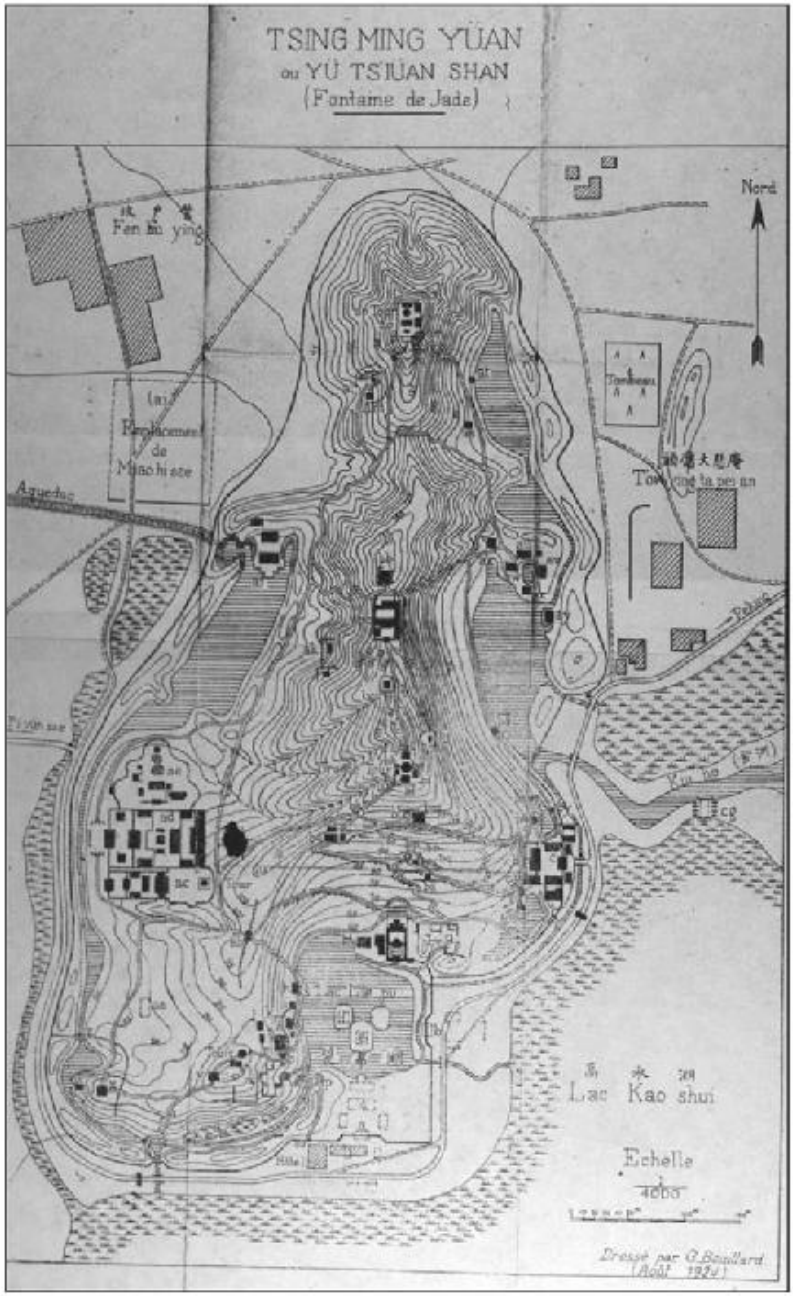


Figure 4.5 Contemporary map of Garden of Tranquil Luminescence, based on He and Zeng, but revised according to Bouillard data. (Siu family collection).

The center of Jade Spring Lake featured three small islands, reminiscent of the Three Isles of the Immortals. The scene, described as Brilliant Hibiscus (*Furong Qingzhao*), recalled not only the sun reflecting brightly on the flowers in the area, but also the earlier Hibiscus Hall, the first recorded structure on the Jade Spring Hill.[43]

After enjoying the initial scene, Qianlong could continue his in-motion viewing on the western shore of Jade Spring Lake where stood two venues he considered most outstanding in this garden: the famous Jade Springs and the Dragon King Temple. The emperor formally named the site of the Jade Springs: Gushing and Sparkling Jade Spring, the Foremost Spring under Heaven (*Yuquan Baotu Tianxia Diyi Quan*). Evidence that Chinese concurred with the emperor's high opinion of this place goes far back in time: over 200 years earlier, the Ming writer and artist Wen Zhengming (1470-1559) compared the source of his prized Suzhou garden pond to it.[44] A recent photograph of the right stellae and a sketch of the site each show that the stone tablets inscribed with the sayings of the Qianlong emperor in the eighteenth century, are still extant at what is sometimes called the Jade Springs Brilliant Rainbow (*Yuquan Huahong*).[45] The left tablet's inscription, in Chinese and Manchu, is an edict composed and inscribed by the emperor on June 27, 1751.[46] The right tablet bears only the affirmation in large characters: the foremost spring under the heaven.[47]

Another reason Qianlong favored the western shore of the lake was the Dragon King Temple. It was deliberately positioned at the exact source of the Jade Spring. The background for the pair of inscribed tablets about the purest spring water was one of the walls that supported the terrace of the Dragon King Temple.[48] From the 1756 Clothing Records, we know that the Qianlong emperor revered the Dragon King, as on the twentieth day of the fifth Chinese month, the emperor made an official imperial visit to the Dragon King Temple to offer thanks for adequate rainfall. He also personally offered incense at this site, rather than delegating the ritual to one of the princes, on the twelfth and nineteenth days of that same month and again on the seventh day of the sixth Chinese month.[49]

On the twenty-fifth day of the fifth Chinese month, the emperor, according to these same sources, rode horseback to perform the rain rituals at the Black Dragon Pool (*Heilong Tan*) located over 30 li (about 10 miles) to the northwest of Beijing.[50] According to an official edict issued by the Qianlong emperor in 1738: "The dragon god of the Black Dragon Pool favors the people . . . whenever the capital district needs rain, prayers here are answered. The ordinary people believe in the merit of this enlightened deity in moistening the fields and permitting the crops to ripen."[51] Evelyn Rawski, the noted Qing scholar, recently pointed out that although the emperor obviously honored this beneficent Black Dragon, there was an even more important rain god: the Dragon God of the Jade Spring Hill. In 1744, this deity received the title Merciful and Protecting Dragon God (*Huiji Ciyou Longshen*). Seven years later the emperor recognized the

importance of the spring water flowing to the capital and ordered that the god's altar be entered in the sacrificial register on a par with the altar of the Black Dragon Pool. At that time he delegated the Imperial Household Department's (*Neiwu Fu*) minister in charge of the Garden of Perfect Brightness to perform these sacrifices.[52] The Clothing Records indicate that by 1756, the Qianlong emperor had elevated the Jade Spring Hill venue even more, as evidenced by the fact he performed the rain rituals three times that year at the Dragon King Temple in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence, whereas he performed the ritual only once that year at the Black Dragon Pool Temple (*Heilong Tan Si*). He no doubt recalled the bad famine year of 1744, the second year of drought, and how the Empress Dowager augmented his own recourse to a major yang cosmological principle through her devout penitential prayers at the Dragon King Temple on villa grounds. A heavy rain ensued shortly after these imperial exertions.[53]

Rawski's seminal study of the last emperors includes a significant analysis of Qing rituals for rain as the major way by which rulers and ritual specialists attempted to legitimate political systems by fusing potent cultural symbols into a sequence of ges-ture, music, and voiced utterances that moved peoples' emotions. The Qing emperors who were of Manchu origin initially conducted the sacrifice for rain (*yusi*) within the precinct of the Temple of Heaven (*Tian Tan*) in the fourth lunar month, the first month of spring (*mengchun*). The ritual that honored the deity, the High God of Heaven (*Huangtian Shangdi*), was preceded by three days of abstinence by the emperor, the princes, and the accompanying officials. The sovereign forbade slaughter of livestock during this period. On the day the rite was performed, the emperor wore plain clothes (*sufu*) and demonstrated humility by walking without musical accompaniment or displaying imperial regalia. This fourth-month ritual was called regular prayer for rain (*changyu*) to distinguish it from the special prayers for rain.[54] In 1742, the major deity worshiped was still Heaven, but imperial ancestral spirits were added as ancillary objects for sacrifices.

Following the path along the lake's west shore, directly south of the Dragon King Temple, the emperor reached a pair of seemingly insignificant venues amid the hills and caves: the Mountain Cottage of the Bamboo Jar (*Zhulu Shanfang*)[55] and the Source of Elegance Studio (*Kaijin Zhai*). Both these diminutive structures ranked among Qianlong's favorites on the Jade Spring Hill, since they constituted his two teahouses. Bouillard discovered the ruins of the Mountain Cottage of the Bamboo Jar, the main one, abutting the source of the Jade Springs, as pure water is an essential in-gredient for brewing high quality tea. Remains of the second teahouse were close by.[56]

The 1756 Clothing Records reveal that Qianlong traveled to the park for in-motion viewing of the many alpine and aquatic sectors, not just for performing religious rituals.[57] According to imperial writings, the emperor considered that savoring tea in this pair of teahouses was an experience surpassing even that enjoyed in the original Jiangnan teahouses on which these were modeled. Two imperial paintings of these teahouses during a January festival confirm his sentiments regarding their superior-ity, although these paintings portray both in a very rustic manner. Another illustration of the Mountain Cottage of the Bamboo Jar and the Source of Elegance Studio amid trees, rocks, and the lake is the Qianlong emperor's own painting that was made in the early years of his long reign. Yet another illustration of the same teahouses was done on an inkstick made by the Wangs of Anhui who made a collection of inksticks, under imperial patronage about the middle of the eighteenth century.

In comparing the views, we find that the Qianlong emperor's painting is purely idealistic, while that of the Mountain Cottage of the Bamboo Jar on the inkstick is more elaborate. The inkstick's depiction has two parts, one for the servant and one for the master. The old master is attired in the simple Chinese garments, and waits patiently in a room for his tea, while a young boy hurries to make it in the other. As the boy fans the fire, outside the nearby spring water tumbles.

Farther south along the west shore of the lake is a series of grottoes, including a pair named the Guanyin Caves (*Guanyin Dong*). Their calcified walls appear to have been excavated, but geologists believe the spring water eroded the materials and, over time, caused numerous grottoes to appear. Their walls are covered with inscriptions, some believed to be by Qianlong.[58] In another grotto, Bouillard noticed a statue to Lu Zu, another name for Lu Dongbing.[59]

To the southeast of the caves was a marvelous, seven-story Buddhist pagoda that the emperor commissioned. Fabre translated its name as the Tower of the Sino-Tibetan Union, but it is also called the Stone Pagoda by the Beautiful Village Sea (*Huazhuang Haishi Ta*). The pagoda's white marble walls display many Tibetan Buddhist carvings.[60] (Figs. 4.6 & 4.7) This pagoda, the fourth on the Jade Spring Hill, is the only one erected by the Qianlong emperor.[61]

The emperor could use a royal barge or walk northward along the eastern base of Jade Spring Hill to a large scenic lakeside garden. It featured three conjoined pools, collectively called the Shadow Mirror Lake (*Yingjing Hu*) and an eastern venue, with walkways interconnecting buildings called Hearing the Rustling Bamboo (*Fenghuang Qingting*) that emphasizes prized garden sounds.[62]

Farther north stood another lovely lakeside building, a library

named Books and Painting Barge House (*Shuhua Fang*). At its base, hidden among the rocks, is a second important source of the precious spring waters that fed the three eastern ponds of the Shadow Mirror Lake.[63] At the terminus of the eastern route at the northernmost part of this lake, stood the library's counterpart, the scenic Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall (*Hanjing Tang*).[64]

Having completed exploring the level areas, the emperor ascended a high northern hill at the terminus of the garden, toward the white Tibetan stupa, the Wondrous High Pagoda. This large, white, central temple with a tall, onion-turreted tower soared above four smaller surrounding structures with similarly shaped spires. Positioned on a square terrace, its secondary buildings, Sublime Studio (*Gaimiao Zhai*) and Wondrous High Temple stood in front (south) of the stupa. The temple heights provided Qianlong with a panorama of the Beijing plain to the southeast; the Azure Clouds Temple (*Biyun Si*) (Fig. 4.8) on the Fragrant Hill (*Xiang Shan*) to the west; and some structures he had erected for his troops to practice assaulting Tibetan fortresses. To the east was a beautiful view of the Summer Palace and Inherited Clarity Lake.[65]

Descending from the stupa on the stairs cut in the rocks brought the emperor to a unique grotto, carved out of calcified marble, beneath the Tibetan Temple. It was named Lanka Cave (*Lengqie Dong*) a reference to Lanka, a sacred mountain in southeast Sri Lanka.[66] The cave's several rooms opened through tunnels to two exits. The interior chambers as well as the walls of the approaches were covered with numerous, sculpted, bas-reliefs of Buddhist deities, primarily Tibetan ones, and numerous inscriptions written in the emperor's hand.[67]

Figure 4.6 Engraving of Qianlong's Pagoda, Tower of the Sino-Tibetan Union *(Hua Zhuang Haishi Ta)*. (Siu family collection).

Figure 4.7 Engraving, detail of stone carvings of Gods of War, base of Tower of the Sino-Tibetan Union. (Siu family collection).

Figure 4.8 Temple of Azure Clouds *(Biyun Si)* in Garden of Quiet Delight *(Jingyi Yuan)*, as borrowed view. (Siu family collection).

Qianlong's southward route brought him to a complex of Daoist and Buddhist venues. Not far from the northernmost east-west pass dividing the Jade Spring Hill, was a temple complex, Splendor Study (*Chong'ai Xuan*) that featured a grotto filled with Buddhist statues and

bas reliefs, mostly in the Tibetan style. But most amazing was the huge statue of the Chinese Maitreya (*Mile Fo*), the Buddha of the Future, who seemed to serve as a screen. The crouched figure, depicted as usual with a joyful expression and prominent stomach, held a child who was about to toss something from his right hand.[68]

Continuing southward on the western route brought Qianlong the view of the northern tip of the largest pond of the west lake. Maps indicate an aqueduct outside the garden wall as well as a complex just within named Containing Waves Studio (*Hanyi Zhai*).[69] Whenever the emperor visited this peaceful retreat, he had an unobstructed view south across the water, where he could detect the elevated western section of the largest temple complex in the entire Garden of Tranquil Luminescence: the completely enclosed Clear Cool Chan Place (*Qingliang Zanku*). Its name and mountain setting are evidence of its Chan Buddhist inspiration. Its layout, with a major garden of prized spirit rocks (*Taihu*) positioned in a large square courtyard with a spirit bridge, also demonstrated its Chan association. The purpose of the austere setting was to facilitate meditation from the vantage point of the main building that faced the important north-south axis. The covered or climbing corridor, extending from its east side, connected with the Unfolding Dawn Cloud Hall (*Xiaqi Lou*), and at the western terminus of the corridor was the Pear Clouds Pavilion (*Liyun Ting*).[70]

South of the Clear Cool Chan Place lay another large temple, a Daoist complex in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence. Called the East Yue Temple (*Dongyue Miao*), it featured the stately, seven-bay Virtue and Cultivation Palace with red stairs ascending to the platform on which it stood. Three arches bordered the great courtyard in front of it. Within this compound, the Qianlong emperor ordered a five-bay Yue Fei Temple (*Yuezong Miao*) to be positioned between the front mountain gate and the main temple. The 1756 Clothing Records indicate his personal interests: on the nineteenth day of the sixth Chinese month, he dedicated a Buddhist statue at this shrine. He also prayed before breakfasting, and administered affairs in this garden.[71] The major Daoist deity honored in the larger main temple was *Dongyue Dadi*, a Tai Shan god.[72] The Kangxi emperor had ordered this temple built along with a smaller adjacent Daoist shrine with the large hall named Precious Hall of the Daoist Chief. Also called Beamless Hall (*Wuliang Dian*), it featured statues of three gods: the Jade Emperor (*Yuhuang Dadi*), a major Daoist deity, and two lesser sky deities.[73]

Still farther south stood a smaller Buddhist temple complex named the Holy Destiny Temple (*Shengyuan Si*), which Qianlong's grandfather, Kangxi, erected west of the massive Virtue and Cultivation Palace complex. The covered corridors behind the five-bay

main hall, named Enabling Kindness Hall (*Nengren Dian*) directed the emperor toward a flight of red stairs leading to the seven-bay Merciful Cloud Hall (*Ciyun Dian*). The east-west axis extending through the center of each of these temples reached the mountain on the east via an extensive courtyard filled with grey, mountain stones. The axis terminates in Kangxi's (Glazed or) Enamel-tiled Pagoda (*Liuli Ta*).[74] The entire western venue, featuring Daoist and Buddhist manmade mountain and rock scenes and limited architecture at the foot of a natural mountain, made the garden much grander and seemingly larger.[75]

To appreciate the elevated central sites of Jade Spring Hill with its numerous pavilions, grottoes, and temple complexes, the Qianlong emperor concluded his extensive in-motion viewing experience of the sites on the western plains by exiting the vast temple complex, circling behind the Enamel-tiled Pagoda, and climbing up a steep path directed eastward.[76] Retracing the relatively short distance to the northernmost tip of the west lake brought him directly to the east-west pass that connected to the elevated central route.

Where the northern terminus of this central mountain path intersects with the east-west path is the Beckon the Cranes Hall (*Zhaohe Ting*) where the emperor beheld another magnificent panorama. To the south stood the structure's counterpart, the large Zither's Tone on Snowy Peak (*Xiaxue Qinyin*).[77] A pavilion and a large hall, positioned directly on the central route, invited the emperor to pass through.[78] Farther southward toward the peak with the highest pagoda were other structures, including a mysterious complex named The Coolest Place (*Diyi Liang*).[79]

The Cross-shaped Pavilion (*Shizi Ting*), placed next along the route southward, signals the successful arrival at the major central temple complex on the highest peak of the Jade Spring Hill. A small structure, directly north of the pagoda is fittingly named Shadow of the Jade Peak Pagoda (*Yufeng Ta Ying*). The base of the main octagonal, seven-story, stone pagoda, measuring 13 feet on each side, supported the tower, which was more than 100 feet high. Climbing the interior staircase affords a superb panorama of Beijing and its environs.[80]

In front (south) of the pagoda, on a considerably lower level, was the large Fragrant Majestic Temple (*Xiangyan Si*). On a wall sustaining the pagoda was the inscription Cavernous Pearly Beacon (*Dongdi Zhubiao*).[81] Completing the symmetry of the extensive highest temple complex was a tiered structure named Wondrous High House (*Miaogao Shi)*, with a pavilion named Touching the Clouds Building (*Qianyun Lou*) at the right (west) of the tower looking south. Counterbalancing them on the left (east) of the temple was the Crane's Repose Studio (*He'an Zhai*).[82] Performing Buddhist rituals in the

various sacred places in this lofty religious complex at its prime must have uplifted the emperor's spirits.

Following a flagstone path descending to the southwest, Qianlong's viewing ended at a little pavilion which sheltered a small Demon's Submission Cave (*Fumo Dong*). It marked the beginning of the eastern section famous for its caves. A second shrine, Glorious Majestic/ Amplified Magnificence Cave (*Huayan Dong*), measured only 19 feet by 39 feet, and featured a small altar with a Buddha in its depths and walls covered with multitudes of miniature Buddhas.[83] (Fig. 4.9).

Westward the path slopes toward a complex, consisting of the Ancient Glorious and Majestic Temple (*Guhua Yansi*), a pavilion named Sound of the Bell Beyond the Clouds (*Yunwai Zhongsheng*),[84] and more Buddha-filled grottoes. The Qianlong emperor's inscription, dated 1744 (ninth year of the Qianlong reign), is on a wall of the Water and Moon Cave (*Shuiyue Dong*), which probably refers to Guanyin in her form as the Water Moon goddess.[85]

Figure 4.9 Tibetan Deities, two-armed Mahakala and Vaishravana, in Grotto, detail, old photograph. (Siu family collection).

The path eastward and southward brought the emperor to still more caves created by the Jade Springs. Caves are revered by both Buddhists and Daoists and are prize elements of Chinese gardens.[86] The emperor lavishly embellished these with many Mahayanan and Tibetan Buddhist deities and symbols. To end his in-motion viewing of the Jade Spring Hill imperial garden, the emperor only needed to continue descending the paved path to the base of the mountain, not far from the Jade Spring Lake and the boathouse on its northern shore, which stored his imperial barge.

Colonel G. J. Wolseley, a British eyewitness, expressed his

appreciation of the architectural and design elements of the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence on the Jade Spring Hill in 1860 before much of it was destroyed and looted. An excerpt from his description underlines both the religious dimension, such as its marble pagoda and various-sized temples and shrines, and other garden venues near water, namely palaces and summer houses or pavilions bordering the lakes.[87]

RELIGIOUS SITES BASED ON CAVES, PEAKS, AND SPRINGS IN THE GARDEN OF TRANQUIL LUMINESCENCE

Caves, mountain peaks, and springs are the three natural elements of the garden on Jade Spring Hill, and of all Chinese gardens. In the finest traditions of Chinese garden creators, the Qianlong emperor utilized art or architecture to enhance these environmental characteristics in order to draw religious and aesthetic meanings from them. He converted numerous natural openings, tunneled by spring waters through porous rocks in Jade Spring Hill, into simple grottoes evoking the finest Daoist traditions or into elaborate cave shrines reminiscent of the nearly 2,000 years of Buddhist devotional customs in China.

The emperor was familiar with the Daoist ideals of a paradise garden. Chinese in every walk of life[88] associate caves in a garden with hermits' dwellings or the search for portals leading to a better world,[89] as classically expressed by Dao Qian in his *Peach Blossom Spring*. Numerous Chinese scholars have expressed their admiration of Dao's elegant words, sincere feelings, and uncorrupt life in his various writings and landscapes. In their gardens, too, they fashioned caves to convey their continuing search, particularly, if they lacked extensive natural grottoes such as Qianlong had found in this imperial garden.

The tradition of embellishing cave shrines with Buddhist frescoes and figures began in India and spread to Khotan, Kucha, and other central Asian city-states along the Silk Road.[90] Though little is known of the artists who decorated them, it is certain that donors commissioned the works to acquire merit. It is no wonder that the Kangxi and the Qianlong emperors embellished the numerous natural grottoes dotting the Jade Spring Hill with fine religious depictions, including magnificent frescoes and various Buddhist figures, such as Guanyin holding a child. The plethora of natural caves in the Jade Spring Hill, then, inspired the Qing creators of the Garden of Tranquil

Luminescence to fashion religious shrines in the finest Daoist and Buddhist manners as well as in the aesthetic traditions of China. (Fig. 4.10).

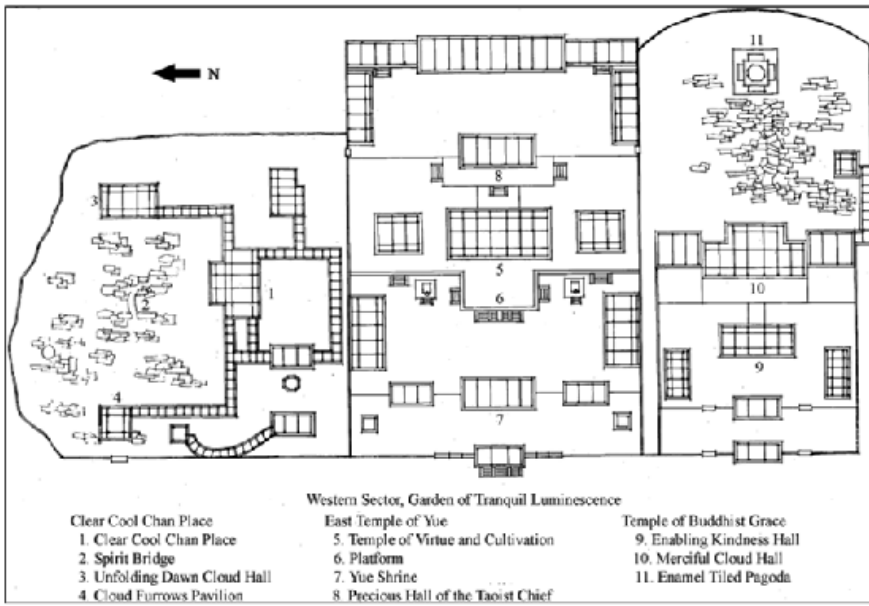

N
Western Sector, Garden of Tranquil Luminescence
Clear Cool Chan Place
1. Clear Cool Chan Place
2. Spirit Bridge
3. Unfolding Dawn Cloud Hall
4. Cloud Furrows Pavilion
East Temple of Yue
5. Temple of Virtue and Cultivation
6. Platform
7. Yue Shrine
8. Precious Hall of the Taoist Chief
Temple of Buddhist Grace
9. Enabling Kindness Hall
10. Merciful Cloud Hall
11. Enamel Tiled Pagoda

Figure 4.10 West sector, Garden of Tranquil Luminescence, with Temple of Holy Destiny *(Shengyuan Si)*, Yue Shrine *(Yuezong Miao)*, and Chan Buddhist Garden, Clear and Cool Chan Place (*Qingliang Chan Ku*). (Siu family collection).

MOUNTAIN PEAKS IN GARDENS AS SITES FOR RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

Every Chinese landscape and its garden counterpart include the basic aesthetic design elements of water (yin) and mountains or crenellated stones (yang) evoking them. Any creator of a garden must keep the cardinal rule of maintaining the balance of yin and yang, thereby perpetuating good feng shui in his venue.

The theory of feng shui itself is extremely complex, involving proper location (often miscalled geomancy after a European method of soil divination with which it has nothing in common). Though feng shui is so complicated that it requires experts utilizing instruments to achieve it, the basic idea is simple. It is a skill aimed at detecting the course of the vital breath of the universe at work. Since humans are products of the universe, Chinese believe their gardens, residences, burial sites, etc., must be designed so that all are in harmony with the natural forces, that is, wind and water.[91]

In the light of these yin-yang principles, we understand why the early creators of the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence considered it particularly auspicious to place pagodas atop the mountain peaks of Jade Spring Hill. In China, pagodas are obviously associated with Buddhism, but they are also believed to maintain good feng shui.[92] Thus the Manchu creators of the pagodas in the fourth Garden of Perfect Brightness site evoked an extremely auspicious feng shui by placing them atop the mountains. They also expressed their patronage of various Buddhist sects by fashioning four soaring architectural masterpieces. These Chinese religious towers do not derive solely from the original Indian stupas, which resemble an overturned bowl with a canopy, raised base, and balustrade.[93] From tombs of the Eastern Han dynasty (23-220),[94] models of free-standing, five-story watchtowers of green-glazed earthenware have been recovered, causing experts in Chinese architecture to conclude that the Chinese pagoda gradually developed into a unique style from the fusing of two architectural models: one Chinese, and the other the Southeast Asian modification of the Indian-style stupa.[95] Though the structures' designs differed, their chief purposes coincided. Both stupas and pagodas served as reliquaries of the Buddha or of Buddhist saints.[96]

Chinese artists of the Qing dynasty frequently included the pagoda atop the summit of Jade Spring Hill in depictions of the Summer Palace. This fulfills the aesthetic role of a borrowed view, one of the cardinal points of garden design. It also continues to serve as a landmark for travelers in the western region of Beijing. This limited sketch of pagodas within extant Buddhist temple complexes, traditionally set in beautiful elevated settings, facilitates the grasp of the religious and aesthetic functions that mountain peak pagodas in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence serve. They follow the design principles of Chinese gardens in the Kangxi and the Qianlong eras.

SPRINGS AS RELIGIOUS SITES IN GARDENS

Just as yin and yang must be balanced to maintain the principles of feng shui in a garden, dragons, too, are important. As Chinese identify dragons with yang, they exist in proximity to water,[97] almost as an essential counterbalance. These yin-yang religious principles help us appreciate the auspicious placement of the Dragon King Temple in designing the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence, an integral part of the total Garden of Perfect Brightness. They also point to this fourth garden's abundant spring water as a unifying yin principle linking it

with the first, second, and third imperial parks.

One proof of the Qianlong emperor's understanding of the importance of these yin-yang elements in the garden design of the original, third garden is that he ordered a back lake, in reality a river, a new yin water element, to balance his artificially-heightened Jar Hill which created the soaring Longevity Hill, a yang element. With no natural mountains and water supplies sufficient for Garden One and its annex, Garden Two, to the east of the Summer Palace, their creators resorted to the Chinese art of fashioning artificial mountains, or their counterpart rocks, and ingeniously creating lakes and rivers. Temples were placed in proper feng shui locations, as were the several religious venues, including a pagoda, on the slopes of the artificial mountains along the entire northern border of the annex. These temples were believed to block out malevolent spirits from the north and to direct the vital breath into the Garden of Everlasting Spring.

These yin-yang principles also enter into the siting of the Dragon King Temple on the Jade Spring Hill. The Qianlong emperor considered the western shore of Jade Spring Lake at the base of the mountain's southern slope as particularly favorable. That shore contained the four venues he considered unique in this imperial garden: its famous Jade Spring, its religious counterpart, the Dragon King Temple, and his two favorite teahouses. The emperor carefully positioned all these sites near the source of the Jade Spring. (In the Daoist classic, the *Daode Jing* attributed to Laozi, or the Old Master, water, though seemingly weak, is in reality forceful since it wears away rocks.) The Dragon King Temple's placement therefore demonstrates the Qianlong emperor's observance of the yin-yang principles, thereby providing doubly fortuitous feng shui in his fourth imperial garden.

It is beyond the scope of this garden study to sketch how dragons became identified with the Chinese emperor and, indeed, with the Chinese nation. They are fabulous creatures thought of as auspicious, in contrast to the dragons in the West, which are associated with the forces of evil. A study by Mircea Eliade, however, reveals the strikingly similar general idea associated with dragons everywhere: hidden in the depths of clouds or water and infused with the sacred power of the abyss, they bring rain.[98]

Innumerable popular tales about dragons in China illustrate the common people's belief in their benevolent efficacy. From ancient times common people have regarded dragons as divine animals, synonymous with the yang element, and worshipped them especially at yin venues such as lakes, rivers, and springs. Like all phenomena, the Chinese dragon is also an incarnation of the Dao, the one ultimate tireless activity, unflagging potential energy. Hidden in the

inaccessible depths of the sea or caverns in mountains, the dragon awaits his time to rouse himself to action, then unfolds himself in the storm clouds. His claws are the forks of the lightning; his voice is heard in the thunder. The dragon reveals himself and then vanishes.[99]

Well-known popular tales and the imperial rain rituals at key venues associated with water demonstrate that the commoners and court alike regarded Chinese dragons as potent yang force symbols which could shift the patterns of yin-yang favorably. Dragons hide near water (yin), so venues, like the Dragon King Temple in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence, constituted sacred spaces, especially for rain rituals officially performed by the Qianlong emperor. Of course, commoners performed their own rain rituals throughout the country.

AESTHETIC SITES DERIVED FROM CHINESE ART AND RELIGIONS IN THE GARDEN OF TRANQUIL LUMINESCENCE

Northern Song period (960-1126) scholars are believed to have set the aesthetic standards for Chinese art, particularly in painting landscapes and fashioning gardens. Although the physical traces of their gardens have long since disappeared, some literary sources and depictions reveal their three basic design features, namely, extensive areas of water, earthen mounds or boulders to form artificial mountains, and simple buildings distributed to convey an uncluttered spaciousness.[100]

These same sources reveal the activities considered appropriate in gardens. They range from relaxing activities, such as playing the zither and wine or tea drinking, to obviously serious cultural endeavors, such as painting, calligraphy, and meditation. No matter what the pastime, only an examination of representations of a garden, either in writing or in the visual arts, reveals the true intent of the garden's creator depicted in portraiture at an actual site.[101] Such is the case for the Qianlong emperor, who left visual and written depictions of himself partaking of tea in one of his two favorite tea pavilions in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence.

We have evidence that the Qianlong emperor was asserting his rightful place in a Chinese tea tradition that Northern Song scholars and their Tang dynasty (618-907) predecessors had helped create. Two major architectural elements attest to his appreciation of tea as a serious cultural art. One was his pair of inscribed tablets attesting that

the finest spring water in the world has its source on the Jade Spring Hill. Two stone calligraphic engravings on paired stone pillars specified the name of the fountain and its primary importance. The stelae contained the imperial edict exalting the venue. The emperor composed it in 1751, but the calligraphy is probably by Wang Youdun, grand councilor, 1745-1758, famed calligrapher, editor of imperial poems, and, at the time, minister of public works.

The second was the erection of two simple teahouses, seemingly in isolation, in the style favored by Northern Song scholars, on the southern slope of the Jade Spring Hill. The Mountain Cottage of the Bamboo Jar, situated very near the source of the Jade Spring, was the more famous of the two, and was probably the favorite teahouse the emperor erected in any of his gardens. In both depictions of it, an imperial inkstick and a painting attributed to the emperor, and dated to the early years of his reign, a solitary man (in the painting probably himself) in simple attire awaits in one part of the mountain cottage, a single servant preparing the tea is in the other sector. In choosing to portray this individual partaking of tea alone in his pavilion within his private mountain garden, the Qianlong emperor chose to assert his rightful authority in a long tea and garden tradition that the Tang and Northern Song scholars had helped create in private gardens.

Indeed, by the Qing dynasty the tea culture was no longer associated with any prescribed tea ritual which likely had been practiced in Tang Buddhist monasteries.[102] Instead, public teahouses, like the ones depicted above along the Suzhou canals, continued to be popular informal meeting places for men. Though a number of these men considered themselves connoisseurs of the national beverage, perhaps only a few, like the Qianlong emperor, appreciated the totality of the tea experience, namely, going from the essence of tea culture into a spiritual experience in an open-air garden setting.

Two of Qianlong's writings also attest to his keen appreciation of not only the 2,000-year-old art of tea (*cha shu*), but also of the famous settings of the ritual in China. The inscription on the inkstick's reverse side records: "When the tea is served, the imbiber must compare the rest of the old tea and that of the fresh one." The long prose and the verse composed and written by the Qianlong emperor on his painting reveals the reason why he named his favorite teahouse on Jade Spring Hill, Bamboo Jar (*Zhulu*). It also shows his familiarity with many fundamental elements of the tea art and its evolution. The prose may be summarized as follows:

> The ancients drank only hot water in the winter, and cold water in the summer. But men of later ages knew to drink tea. The remote origin of the tea came from the Han dynasty. In the Tang dynasty and those that followed, tea became very popular. The making of good tea depends on two essential

> conditions: the quality of the tea itself and the quality of the water. The famous painter Dong Yuan (d. 962) of the Tang dynasty [actually the Five dynasties] seemed not to be a true expert tea drinker, for he knew only to pay attention to the tea quality as he classified and criticized with abundant words the different kinds of tea produced in Zhejiang province, without referring to the good springs. Therefore only a teahouse storing the Bamboo Jar belonging to a monk of the Ming dynasty is worthy to be qualified as a real place of good tea making. Last year I visited the said hut, and I saw the tea making there with excellent water from the spring of the place named the Benevolent Spring (*Hui Quan*). When I came back to the capital, I tasted the water of the Jade Spring Hill's spring. So I ordered an extended teahouse of two rooms to be built near the Jade Spring . . . and I named [it] the Gushing and Sparkling Jade Spring, the Foremost Spring under Heaven.[103]

A poem written by Qianlong only a few months after the above passage illustrates his grasp of the essential attitude of mindfulness necessary to the more material elements of the Chinese art of tea. The passage reads:

> The wind is rustling through the foliage of the pine tree under which the teahouse is situated. Its needles have fallen to the ground. One makes the tea in the bamboo-handled pot, which becomes red on the fire. The maker of the tea must know how much spring water to use in proportion to the quantity of the tea, and also how long to keep the fire on under the pot. He must imitate what Tao Luyu did in the kitchen when he made the tea. But he is not to imitate what Lu Tong [a famous tea connoisseur] did in composing a poem. A model teahouse is that built by the celebrated monk near Wisdom Spring in Wuxi. I remember still how I visited the place last year in the spring.[104]

In the first line, the teahouse's rustic setting beneath pines "rustling in the wind" is an obvious allusion by the emperor to his in-motion viewing of the Listening to the Pines Hut (*Tingsong An*) on Benevolent Mountain (*Hui Shan*). A model teahouse at the venue inspired him to create a similar one, which became his favorite teahouse on Jade Spring Hill. Imperial sources of his Southern Tours to Wuxi document his appreciation of a mountain venue, which featured a notable Buddhist temple.[105] To appreciate Qianlong's feelings, one must have some familiarity with the already-cited poem as well as with the precepts in the *Classic of Tea* (*Cha Jing*) by the tea sage, Lu Yu. If the latter says the tea lover is to foster an attitude of mindfulness in order to do justice to the perfect combination of all the five elements involved in drinking tea—setting, company, tea, water, and tea utensils—then Lu Tong's social commentary on the plight of the tea pickers goes beyond the aesthetics of tea. It is therefore distracting, and the tea drinker(s) are no longer able to concentrate. The emperor's criticism reflects his sensitivity to this requisite. A careful examination of Qianlong's writings on teahouses in favorable settings, and his depictions of the Mountain Cottage of the Bamboo Jar, reveals

that the individual venues in garden settings were perceived not only as the property of their creators, but also as self-representations of these men in architectural forms.[106]

A second major architectural element in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence further demonstrates the Qianlong emperor's appreciation of Chinese tea culture's debt to Chan Buddhism. The Chan Buddhist garden on the western slope of Jade Spring Hill is situated on the shores of the largest pond of the west lake. Nowhere else in the entire Garden of Perfect Brightness does such a garden exist. The Qianlong emperor's father, the Yongzheng emperor, was partial to Chan doctrines,[107] and his mother was a devout Buddhist. Chan and Lamaist Buddhist monks as well as Daoist priests performed funerary rituals and chanted sutras for both of the Qianlong emperor's parents at various imperial venues, including the main garden.[108] But their son's rituals in two small teahouses, and his in-motion viewing of the austerely beautiful, Chan-inspired Buddhist garden in the western section of the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence reveal Qianlong bringing meaning[109] to Chan practices and the Chinese tea culture with which it was intertwined. As a Son of Heaven, he was asserting his authority over the tea tradition by means of the two architectural and physical spaces in his imperial bonsai of his world garden.

This relationship between Chan Buddhism and the Chinese tea culture is worth reviewing.[110] Chan is a uniquely Chinese form of Buddhism, introduced about 520, which greatly appealed to artists and intellectuals, partly because of its strong affinities to philosophical Daoism, and partly because virtually all members of the leisured class, whether Confucian, Daoist, or Buddhist, practiced meditation.

Chinese understood that sharing cups of good tea, brewed with spring water, in the company of friends in a simple uncluttered garden setting facilitated the tea experience. The cardinal requirement, however, is the cultivated attitude of mindfulness. In China, tea culture requires serious cultivation as an art. The body and the mind have to be in harmony for the greatest enjoyment.

The presence of the emperor at both the Chan Buddhist garden and the tea houses near it in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence is strong evidence that the Qianlong emperor was asserting that Chan meditation facilitated his practicing the tea art seriously and in the finest Chinese tradition. An examination of Color Plate 1.8 which is the detail of an important portrait, attributed to Castiglione, of the young Qianlong emperor intently gazing at the moon reveals the ruler, wearing unostentatious Chinese-style garb, holding an exquisite blue and white handle-less cup of tea. Most likely it was brewed with spring water from the Jade Spring Hill, which the emperor ordered regularly transported to the main Garden of Perfect Brightness. Beside

him on a low table are a simple tea set and other accoutrements. The setting for this tea ritual was, of course, a garden. Water, the tip of a rock, and an arching tree frame the monarch and two young attendants. All these elements strongly point to the Qianlong emperor's understanding of the visual authority of garden imagery. In this portrait, probably from the 1740s, the emperor is in a meditative yet informal pose in an open-air setting, his simple tea utensils nearby. Clearly, he was asserting his central place in reestablishing the Tang-Ming tea tradition that was no longer practiced in its totality by scholars in the Qing.

Chinese tea aficionados never developed a tea ceremony as intricate as that of the Japanese; nevertheless, the Chinese art of tea exists. As noted, it states that proper drinking involves not only the perfect combination of the five material elements, but also requires the special cultivated attitude of mindfulness to do them justice.[111]

In his writing on tea culture as he practiced it in his favorite teahouse in his imperial garden, the Qianlong emperor alluded to two notable Tang figures in the culture of Chinese tea: Lu Yu, to whom he referred to by his full name Dao Luyu, and Lu Tong. The colorful eighth century Lu Yu, who wrote the first comprehensive work on tea, the *Classic of Tea*, provided the first general survey of the proper tea utensils, one of the five elements necessary in the art of Chinese tea drinking. He is also considered an authority, particularly with regard to grading various water and water venues, a second essential element in Chinese tea culture. Lu Yu also wrote, "Mountain spring water is best, river water is next best, well water is the poorest" (*Shan shui shang, jiang shui zhong, jing shui xia*).[112]

The Qianlong emperor also alluded to Lu Tong, the second great Tang personage in the history of tea. Born at the end of the eighth century either in Henan or Hebei Province, Lu Tong wrote poetry and lived a secluded life on Mount Song (*Song Shan*), the highest and the central peak of the Five Sacred Mountains.[113] He took the name Master Jade Stream (*Yuchuan Zi*) though the Chinese appellation Tea Enthusiast (*Cha Chi*) best captures one of his life's two consuming passions: chanting poems, and brewing tea to the point that his colleagues judged him crazed. He is remembered for composing the most famous of tea poems, a work entitled *Thanks to Imperial Censor Meng for Sending His Gift of Freshly Picked Tea* (*Xiemeng Jianyi Jixincha*).[114]

The tea ceremony is an element of Chinese culture. Scholars, poets, and emperors starting from the Tang and Northern Song Dynasties[115] developed the Chinese art of tea in a garden setting. It required utilizing simple, beautiful, and pure items as well as a certain self-discipline amid a natural informality. At first glance, it is not

obviously spiritual except insofar as all art forms elevate the human spirit. The cultivated tea drinker examines the color of the tea, appreciates its fragrance as well as the pottery and the general atmosphere, and only then tastes the infusion. To fully savor its subtlety, the mind must be quiet and free from distractions.[116] For such a person, drinking tea refreshes both body and spirit.

Sitting quietly in a simple teahouse, like the Qianlong emperor in the above depictions, attentive to the crackle of the charcoal fire, one hears the kettle's song before the sound of liquid being poured into the cup. Sounds of wind through the pines and water flowing among pebbles add to a sense of well-being and a sense of communion with nature and fellow beings. In this sense, both the scholarly agnostic and the Buddhist believer, who draw away from calling the tea art spiritual, in fact associate the art of tea with intuitively discovering oneness with the ten thousand forms of the universe. Such a tea lover has gone from the essence of tea culture, namely, renewing his body and spirit, to a spiritual experience outside himself, and yet at one with him.

CONCLUSION

We have examined how much the Qianlong emperor admired and utilized the natural elements of the jade (pure) water and mountain in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence after experiencing similar elements during his in-motion inspections of famed Jiangnan venues during his Southern Tours. We have also considered his writings and an imperial painting of a venue in this fourth of the five gardens constituting the entire Garden of Perfect Brightness and have deduced that he was asserting his authority via garden imagery in a tradition that Tang and Northern Song scholars had initiated. Last, we have noted the emperor's actions in various venues on the Jade Spring Hill, as recorded in official records and in the unembellished sources of the Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records of 1756.

The Qianlong emperor's publicly recorded in-motion viewings of the various rockeries, ponds, and architectural elements in virtually every famous Han Chinese garden certainly familiarized him with the essential design elements for gardens. But he also experienced the countless varieties of expressions and the meanings behind each garden. His own painting of an individual, most likely himself, in the process of performing the Chinese tea ritual in a rustic mountain cottage on Jade Spring Hill attests his grasp of the major idea of reclusion in a garden long cherished by scholars caught amid the tensions of an uncertain political world.

The emperor valued the Jade Spring Hill water to such a degree that he declared it the Number One water in all China and channeled it in a feat of engineering to the Garden of Perfect Brightness. This water and the Chan-inspired tea ritual he steeped himself in, which he demonstrated in his writings, depictions, and landscape, ultimately inspired him to erect two teahouses on Jade Spring Hill very near the water's source. His favorite venue was inspired by a similarly named Ming dynasty tea vessel called Bamboo Jar that was cherished in a Wuxi teahouse set amid rustling pines.

A different and much older tradition that the Qianlong emperor followed in his design of this Chinese garden concerns the ancient religious concept of feng shui. He kept the cardinal rule of balancing yin and yang. Since Chinese identify dragons with yang, they and the Dragon King Temple exist in proximity to the source of the yin element of water from the Jade Springs. The emperor valued and revered the dragon. This mythical animal has long been identified with the emperors of China, and the Manchu rulers utilized its powerful, five-clawed image as shown by fine embroideries reserved for imperial costumes. But what we noted in particular for the first time in the Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records of 1756, a year graced with bountiful rains, and in official documents of 1759, when a severe drought devastated China, is the fact the Qianlong emperor personally offered rain rituals to the Dragon King at a special temple dedicated to that deity at the source of the water at Jade Spring Hill. Moreover, he bestowed imperial titles on this dragon deity associated with rain and good fortune, both essential to an agricultural economy.

These three garden venues, namely, the Dragon King Temple and the two teahouses near the austere Chan garden on Jade Spring Hill, are essential extensions of the garden in question and reveal more of the personality of its creator. The architectural elements, as well as his recorded actions and writings about them, demonstrate the Qianlong emperor representing them. The fact, too, that he historicized and rated the Tea Sages in his writings on the Chinese tea culture demonstrates his mastery over it, as befits an emperor who must represent all cultures to Heaven.

This fourth segment of the emperor's world garden demonstrated his awareness of certain cultural changes[117] and the socio-economic conditions in his times. The eighteenth century scholar regularly practiced meditation, but only the few who sub-mitted themselves to the discipline of a Chan Buddhist master could appreciate the totality of the tea experience. The emperor prided himself on being one of these few, as revealed by his commissioning a portrait of himself in a meditative pose holding a teacup in a reclusive garden setting, with

the proper tea utensils beside him. In contrast, most of the leisured class rubbed elbows with men of the commoner class in teahouses, depicted in the Xu Yang scroll of Suzhou presented to the Qianlong emperor. (Color Plate 4.2) These folks no longer associated the tea culture with any particular ritual.

Officials and commoners alike knew well both the tea and dragon tales handed down to each generation. The ordinary people, at least, never omitted petitioning the local dragon deities for rain. The Garden of Tranquil Luminescence manifests the Qianlong emperor's inclusion of the Chan and popular religious devotions of the Han Chinese. His garden demonstrates that he also honored the special deities of minorities and women. Specifically, he positioned a marble pagoda embellished with Tibetan deities on a direct line with the enamel-tiled pagoda, which had been erected on the Jade Spring Hill's highest peak by his grandfather, the Kangxi emperor. Finally, Qianlong's inscriptions honoring Guanyin, protector of women, graced the numerous water-hollowed limestone cave shrines on Jade Spring Hill. The various venues of the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence then reveal Qianlong at the center of a multiethnic people in his world garden. His in-motion viewing on Jade Spring Hill summed up their religious and aesthetic values.

NOTES

1. Maurice Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais, ses temples et ses environs: guide historique et descriptif*. (Tientsin: Librarie Français, 1937), 104.

2. He and Zeng, *Yuaming Yuan*, 42, state about 146.25 acres. Only the Garden of Everlasting Spring, the annex west of the main Garden of Perfect Brightness, is smaller than the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence.

3. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 104; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 42.

4. Though the Garden of Nurtured Harmony's Longevity Hill is closer to the capital, dredgings from the Inherited Clarity Lake, anchored by rocks, augmented the natural height of the hill. The resulting mountain is, therefore, partially a manmade composite.

5. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 42.

6. The garden remains inaccessible to the public and even researchers due to political reasons. It is the site of the villa reserved for the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party politburo.

7. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 42.

8. Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, 3rd ed., (Kingsport, Tenn.: Penguin Press, 1978), 187-88, 439.

9. *Beijing Gucha Mingsi* 北京古刹名寺 (*Ancient Temples in Beijing*) (Beijing: China Esperanto Press, 1993), [14.]

10. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 105.

11. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 42.

12. Albert Chan, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty* (Norman: University of Okla-hama Press, 1982), 109, 316-18.

13. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 42.

14. The elevation of Xuanwu's cult and the transformation of the Dark Warrior into the Perfected Warrior (*Zhenwu*) and a spirit-guardian of the Daoist faith occurred because of imperial patronage beginning in the Northern Song dynasty. Both Xuanwu and Zhenwu are represented with a tortoise entwined by a snake. Zhenwu's greatest popularity and influence was during the Ming Dynasty according to Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, 291-92. The temple to Zhenwu in the Garden of Tranquil Luminescence demonstrates that Manchu emperors continued the cult. See also E. T. C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* (New York: Julian Press, 1961), 177-78; Julian Pas, *Historical Terms of Daoism* (Lanham, MD, London: Scarecrow Press, 1998), 165.

15. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, #9, Tu 1-83, photo/illustration Tu 1-67. We shall see below that his grandson, the Qianlong emperor, renamed the venue.

16. Ibid., 42.

17. Ibid., 57. It continues to be photographed and sketched.

18. Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, 2; Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*.

19. See *Inscribed Landscapes* for accounts of imperial mountain rituals.

20. Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, Fig. 12, with 2 details, 62-64. See ibid., 2-3. The *Book of Rites* lists these rituals as part of the sacrifice to Earth, one of the three components of cosmic power, namely, heaven, earth, and man (in the sense of ancestral spirits) in Chinese religious belief.

21. Ibid., 4-5. Some scholars disagree with this thesis.

22. Ibid., 2.

23. Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 379.

24. Li Yu, *Jiezi Yuan Huapu* (*The Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual*). Translated and edited by Mai-mai Sze. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956, 1978), 292.

25. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57. According to He and Zeng, since the central pagoda, situated on the summit of the Jade Spring Hill and erected by the Kangxi emperor, frequently served as a borrowed scene on a prominence for Qing painters and contemporary photogra-phers of scenic Beijing, its existence and positive ratings seem undisputed. Also surviving the fires of Anglo-French forces in

1860 were the Kangxi emperor's multicolored tile pagoda on a low peak, his white Tibetan dagoba on a higher northern hill, and a marvelous carved marble pagoda, ordered by the Qianlong emperor as a counterpart to his grandfather's central tower, on still another height. The Jade Spring water continues to be an important water source for the western waterway to the Summer Palace and its Front and Back Lakes. As noted, the garden itself serves as a villa for the highest members of the Politburo.

26. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 42.

27. Ibid., 11.

28. Karst is a geological term referring to a limestone area where the topography is characterized by underground drainage for streams. The term itself originates from an area, Karst, in the former Yugoslavia. John Challinor, *A Dictionary of Geology*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 141.

29. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 12.

30. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 12. One can still find the ruins of their dirt foundations.

31. Wang, *Yihe Yuan*, 8, 12.

32. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 12.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid. Unfortunately several of the canal routes, like the one entering Beijing at West Direct Gate and the waterway from the New Summer Palace to Jade Spring Hill, have disappeared as a result of redesigning the capital and regional roads and transportation systems.

36. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 827-911.

37. See particularly, Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*: *A Social History of the Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) and Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

38. G. Bouillard, *Péking et ses environs* (Pékin: Albert Nachbaur, c. 1922-1931). Extensively cited in Maurice Fabre's *Pékin, ses palais*, as noted on 104-16. In his bibliography, 174, Fabre identifies Bouillard as the chief engineer of the railroad project in China in the early 1920s who thoroughly studied the Beijing environs.

39. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 877, 901; Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 109; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57.

40. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 895.

41. Georges Bouillard, *Pékin et ses environs*, Ser. 10; *Tsing Ming Yuan* (Pékin: Albert Nachbaur, 1931), 941. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*,

109, omits the gate venue. Although few traces of it remained by the time of Bouillard's visit, he included it on his map and recorded that the five-bay gatehouse originally featured an inscription bearing the name of the garden on a board above the entrance. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 42.

42. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, passim.

43. Both Bouillard, *Tsing Ming Yuan*, 942-43, and map, and He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57 [text], plus a late Qing map of the garden in *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 43, Tu 1-72, and a recent photograph of the lake venue, 51, included these islands and the lake, though Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 109, did not. They were probably in ruins from incursions by various Allied forces in 1860 and afterwards.

44. Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, 62.

45. *Yuanming Yuan*, Tu 1-66 and 1-63-4, pages 42, 46, 49.

46. Some Chinese sources indicate the calligraphy is actually that of his Minister of Public Works, Wang Youdun.

47. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 109.

48. Bouillard, *Tsing Ming Yuan*, 109 and He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, Tu 1-63-4, 46. However, the latter study completely omits the temple in both the text and map.

49. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 861, 864-65. In his *Emperor of China*, xii-xiii, xxii–xxiv, Jonathan Spence has pointed to the significance of such rituals being recorded in informal documents. Informal documents refer to the personal practices of the emperor.

50. Ibid., 2: 871; Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 223.

51. *Da Qing huidian shili* (Collected regulations and precedents of the Qing dynasty), 244.6a, quoted in Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 223.

52. Ibid., 224.

53. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 225-27. For an account of the rituals offered to the Dragon King (*Long Wang*), see Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, 4, 39 and Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 419-21.

54. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 222, 227. *Dayu* prayers for rain were performed only twice during the Qing era and as a last ditch penitential ritual after a prolonged drought. It tended to take place after appeals to various local dragon gods had had no effect. See also ibid., chs. 6-8 for other drought rituals.

55. Bamboo Jar is the name of a vessel for making tea owned by a Ming dynasty monk. It will soon be discussed.

56. Bouillard, *Tsing Ming Yuan*, 944-45. According to He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 42, the venues were positioned north of the Jade Spring Lake, and the main one was attached to a larger structure by an ascending covered corridor that literally climbed the mountain slope. None of the authors identifies the venues in questions as

teahouses.

57. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, vol. 2, passim.

58. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 107, 109 and #4 Map. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, omit any mention of such caves except near the northern shore of the lake, ibid., 42. Fabre in ibid., 115, also states that one cave that Bouillard inspected still contained a statue of the Bodhisattva of Mercy with an infant in her arms.

59. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 109. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, include a sketch of this grotto in Tu 1-63-2, 45, but omit any other mention.

60. According to Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 109-10, Georges Soulié de Morand, a historian of Chinese art, stated that the sculptures on this beautiful tower recall the bas reliefs on the monuments constructed by Louis XIV. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, only provide photographs, Tu 1-70 and 1-71, 51.

61. Luo Zhewen, *Zhongguo Gu Ta* (*Ancient temples of Beijing*) (Beijing: *Waiwen chubanshe*, 1994), 13-14 (text), 160 (photo). It survived the destructive Allied Forces in 1860, but the carvings at its base suffered damage. A smaller, simpler pagoda in the *Yihe Yuan* did not survive.

62. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, Tu 1-80-81, 54-55; text, 57. Unfortunately, the authors supply no specifics, only a list of names of buildings and diagrams of their positioning beside the lake. By Bouillard's time, all that remained were their ruins and a small pool, probably for goldfish, in the main northern palace complex. See Fabre , *Pékin, ses palais*, 112.

63. Ibid. He and Zeng omit any information on these structures.

64. Fabré, *Pékin, ses palais*, 112, states Bouillard found it in the ruins. Fabré translates *Hanjing Tang* into French as meaning Temple of Prayer.

65. Ibid., 111-12. Bouillard's French translation is Admirable Obligation Hall. He described the temple as a badly damaged Hindu tower.

66. *Lengqie* is a phoneticization of the Sanskrit term for the *Lankavatava* sutra (Descent to the island of Lanka). This Chan Buddhist sutra emphasized the doctrine of enlightenment. See Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 352-53.

67. Ibid., 112. Bouillard simply translates *Lenjia Dong* as meaning Sculptures Cave. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57, omit many of the above grotto specifics.

68. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 110-11. At this same site stood the *Hanchun Shi* translated by Bouillard, Perfect Taste House, and *Yongsu Tang*, translated again by him, Temple of Perfect Accord. No mention

of the grottoes appears in He and Zeng.

69. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 107, 110.

70. Ibid., 110. Bouillard lamented that the ensemble, which must have been magnificent in the Qianlong era, had disappeared; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57-58, concur. They also inform us of new architecture at the site.

71. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 877. This shrine was probably dedicated to General Yue Fei (1103-1141), a hero of the Song dynasty who was later deified.

72. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 110, using Bouillard data.

73. Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, 3, for history of sacred rituals offered to the heavenly deities, including imperial stars and constellations, and He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 265, states Qing emperors sacrificed to the Daoist deity, Almighty Heaven (*Haotian shangdi*) (Manchu: *dergi abkai han*). Furthermore, she describes Empress Dowager Cixi leading her consorts to light incense to *Xuantian shangdi* [no further identification] in 1885, ibid., 267. Could these deities be the same as identified above? Finally, Rawski cites a 1762 archival report of the Qianlong emperor personally sacrificing to the Stove God (*Zaojun*), commonly translated the Kitchen God, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth Chinese month, so that this deity would report favorably to the Jade Emperor, ibid., 265, 383.

74. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57. Fabre, *Pékin ses palais*, 110, records Bouillard marvelling at the damaged pagoda's artistry.

75. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57-58.

76. As this section appears on the late Qing map as slightly east of center on the two southernmost east-west axis, ibid., 57, sometimes refer to venues as on the east mountain, or on south mountain, 42.

77. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 112, 114. Bouillard refers to the venue as Place of the Music of the Deep Snow.

78. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, Tu 1-78, 53 (photograph). They also provide a diagram, ibid., Tu 1-82, 56 (diagram), but provide no other information, like the function of the larger building or whether these are the original structures.

79. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 114. He and Zeng are equally unenlightening about the nature of these several ruins.

80. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 114, provides Bouillard's data. No specifics in He and Zeng except distant photographs and an etching of Kangxi's pagoda.

81. Ibid. The Frenchman offers no attempt at its meaning. He and Zeng *Yuanming Yuan*, photographs, Tu 1-62, 44 and 1-77, 53.

82. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 114. Some of the buildings may be included in the photograph of the major temple, Fragrant Majestic

Temple, in He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, Tu 1-79, 53.

83. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 114-15.

84. Ibid., 115. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57, only list the names of four grottoes in this eastern area: *Huayan*, *Luohan, Fumo*, and *Shuiyue Dong*.

85. Fabre, *Pékin, ses palais*, 115, inaccurately adds gu 古 or old as the first term. However, his map, #19, has the proper shorter term as it accurately corresponds to Bouillard's terms for the venue.

86. Ibid.

87. Wolseley, *Narratives of the War with China*, 284-86.

88. Stephen Bokenkamp, "The Peach Flower Font and the Grotto Passage," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, no. 1 (1986): 70; *The Summer Palace Long Corridor*, 106-7.

89. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 59.

90. Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, 4th ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 106.

91. Feng Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 30, 129-31.

92. Because of their intimate relation with the feng shui of the village, even during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the Red Guards, who destroyed many religious cultural treasures, saved pagodas.

93. *Beijing Gucha Mingsi, Ancient Temples in Beijing*, 13; Sickman and Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, 389; Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, 105-6 and Fig. 5.15, 72.

94. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, *Tomb Treasures from China: The Buried Art of Ancient Xi'an* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1994), Fig. 29, 49.

95. Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, 106, 128.

96. A. G. Longhurst, *The Story of the Stupa* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1979), 13.

97. Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, 365.

98. Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. Rosemary Sheed (New York: Sheed and Ward, [1958]), 207. According to Yang Xin et al., *The Art of the Dragon* (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1988), 13, the pictographic script used for these inscriptions on oracle bones reveal that the character for the word dragon had about seventy variants, but we learn from the *Grand dictionnaire Ricci*, 2: 1275, that the meaning even in this earliest historical period primarily signified protection, indicating the dragon's benevolent character.

99. Sickman and Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, 3rd ed., 268.

100. Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "Art and Identity in the Northern Sung Dynasty," 148-49.

101. Ibid., 158.

102. Ibid., 92. Richard J. Smith, *China's Cultural Heritage, the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644-1912* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1983), 235, describes Tang rituals as elaborate.

103. Unpublished translation, John T. P. Siu.

104. Ibid.

105. *Nanxun sheng dian*, Zhuan 98, vol. 55, Tau 7, 1-3; He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 42. The original venue had a pot with bamboo design and a painting, which evoked a feeling of refinement in the Qianlong emperor.

106. I owe my idea to the innovative work of Harrist, "Art and Identity in the Northern Sung Dynasty," 151.

107. Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 239.

108. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 279-80.

109. Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 221.

110. Though it is beyond the scope of this garden study to elaborate on the four main Ma-hayanist Buddhist schools which existed in Late Imperial China, see Smith, *China's Cultural Heritage*, 138-41.

111. John Blofeld, *The Chinese Art of Tea* (London: Allen Unwin, 1985), xi-xii. The author's tea friend in Taiwan is the tea expert, Yu Yu. The latter reveals in the preface of his second study on tea, entitled *Cha Shi Chunqiu* (Compendium of Tea). (Taipei: *Shijie wenwu chubanshe*, 1982), 4-5, that the Englishman, Blofeld, who lived over seventeen years in China, delighted in Chinese culture, especially tea. Moreover, he utilized Yu's two books on tea for his book.

112. Yu, *Cha Shi Chunqiu*, 2-18, 56; Blofeld, *The Chinese Art of Tea*, 3-6, 103. Yu's study, as indicated in preface, 5, omits mythological elements re: Lu Yu. Officially, there is very little known about him, but popular stories abound about Lu Yu.

113. Yu, *Cha Shi Chunqiu*, 19. Blofeld, *The Chinese Art of Tea*, 8, translates it as Cottage Mountain though it literally means Lofty Mountain and mistakenly places it in Hunan instead of Henan.

114. Yu, *Cha Shi Chunqiu*, 23-25; Blofeld, *The Chinese Art of Tea*, 11-12. The poem immortalizes this Tea Master whose life unexpectedly ended during a palace coup d'etat by the military. Troops of rebellious army leaders slaughtered Lu Tong along with the families of about 2,000 civilian ministers and 600 loyal soldiers.

115. The scholarly Huizong emperor composed an erudite treatise on the subject, entitled *Da Guan Cha Lun* in 1107. It reveals his familiarity with the wide range of skills involved in the growing, processing, preparation, infusion, and drinking of caked tea. Like Song courtiers and scholar-officials, he delighted in mastering the intricacies of the difficult and costly tea art, though history reveals he

was less successful as a political leader. See Yu, *Cha Shi Chunqiu*, 27. The Chinese tea art articulated by the emperor is actually the origin of better known tea cultures, notably the Japanese tea ceremony, which is a subject beyond the scope of this garden study.

116. A venerable Korean asserted that someone who has drunk tea this way for about twenty years is able to maintain the state of mind required to appreciate tea at all times. Ibid., 96.

117. Harrist, “Art and Identity in the Northern Sung Dynasty,” 147.

Chapter Five

The Garden of Quiet Delight (*Jingyi Yuan*) on Fragrant Hill (*Xiang Shan*)

Westernmost of the five gardens constituting the Garden of Perfect Brightness (*Yuanming Yuan*) during the Qianlong era was the Garden of Quiet Delight. (Color Plate 5.1) It served as a hunting park for earlier emperors including the Kangxi emperor, Qianlong's illustrious grandfather. The emperors appreciated the rugged terrain of the Fragrant Hill in the foothills of the Western Hills (*Xi Shan*) for its views and its hunting opportunities. The architecture in this western region of the park, as well as various records, reveal it was a wondrous religious venue with myriad temples and monasteries. This garden long served religious as well as scenic and political purposes. What is abundantly apparent from the Qianlong emperor's decision to embellish this sector of his cosmos to the point of featuring it as *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* is that these other purposes far outweighed the original hunting function during the eighteenth century. The emperor chose, instead, to hold his annual hunt at the extensive Mulan[1] hunting grounds adjacent to the Imperial Mountain Resort for Escaping the Heat (*Bishu Shanzhuang*), at Chengde, outside the Great Wall. Even popular tales support historical and architectural records that indicate the Qianlong emperor transformed this area into a Garden of Quiet Delight.

ORIGINS AND HISTORY

Emperors from earlier dynasties had constructed imperial gardens on the Fragrant Hill, about twelve miles west of central Beijing. One dates from the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279), when the Tartar rulers of north China made the venue a hunting park. In 1186 the Jin ruler Zhangzong (r. 1168-1208) had a dream in his travel palace (*xinggong*)[2] and because of the dream, he allegedly discovered a sparkling, well fountain. These early rulers took advantage of the garden's natural elements of water and mountains to fashion both aesthetic and hunting retreats.

The Liao (907-1125), Tartar rulers of north China, continued to construct buildings in the Western Hills region of which the Fragrant Hill is a part. Their tombs demonstrate an additional value: the heights were auspicious places for venerating ancestors as well as for temples honoring the deities.

Although the Kangxi emperor arranged to enhance the garden with fine roads, rockeries, gardens, summer houses, and audience halls, and even a large Tibetan temple, this Manchu monarch still used the venue primarily as a hunting park. The Italian Jesuit Matteo Ripa (1682-1746) observed Kangxi hunting for deer at one of the larger imperial hunting grounds near the Imperial Mountain Resort for Escaping the Heat. Ripa also reported, however, that the imperial site not far from Beijing, that is the Garden of Quiet Delight, likewise contained a variety of game: deer, including the musk deer, as well as smaller animals such as rabbits.[3] Ripa's eyewitness report clarifies that certain sections and elements of Chinese gardens, such as their wooded hillsides, were designated for physical activities, while other venues, including architectural elements, served aesthetic purposes.

Starting in 1743, the Qianlong emperor, changed the space into an elaborate imperial garden, the fifth and final segment of what is collectively known as the Garden of Perfect Brightness. This largest of the Five Gardens became a venue for performing aesthetic, political, and religious rituals. Illustrations and texts regarding Qianlong's no longer extant *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* demonstrate his changed purposes for the venue. Imperial records, including the informal 1756 Clothing Records, however, demonstrate that like his grandfather, Qianlong insisted that Manchus participate in the annual hunt, but not at the nearby garden in question. Instead he utilized the much larger Mulan near the summer palace at Chengde. In 1756, for example, an imperial visit to Mulan commenced on the seventeenth day of the eighth Chinese month and lasted thirty-six to thirty-seven days.[4] In all, the hunts at Mulan that year totaled sixty-six days.[5]

The Garden of Quiet Delight encompassed some 400 acres of hills and plains. Its highest peak, named Incense Burner Peak (*Xianglu Feng*) because of its shape like an incense-burning tripod, extends to a

height of nearly 1,700 feet.[6] The Qianlong emperor ordered that the immense garden at this locale be enclosed by a long serpentine wall of stone and mortar. Punctuated with guard towers, the wall ran up the face of the mountain, crested at the top, and descended again to the plain.

According to the British eyewitness Robert Swinhoe, the design of the garden on Fragrant Hill was even more perfect than any of the other three that he visited in 1860, prior to and during their destruction by Anglo-French troops. To him, the flights of stone steps leading from palace to palace, the rural summer houses, the shady bow-ers, and the delightful terraces made the spot unique and perfectly lovely.[7] Another member of the Anglo-French forces, Rev. R. J. L. M'Ghee, recorded visiting what he called the Hunting Park.[8] The two regions of the imperial garden, one more a rustic residence, the other a forested preserve, account for a seeming discrepancy between the two accounts.

In the time of the Qianlong emperor, the Inner Wall (*Neiyuan*) divided the elaborate Garden of Quiet Delight into two parts: the vast region of temples and hunting places, largely situated to the west of Fragrant Hill and extending from it to the Western Hills; and the Palace region, situated in a richly-planted hollow at the eastern foot of the mountain. The Chinese-style relief map made by the artist Liu Qingrong in 1922 illustrates only the much smaller region of the imperial residence quarters. (Fig. 5.1)

Figure 5.1 Relief map of Garden of Quiet Delight, by Liu Qingrong, 1922. (Siu family collection).

THE TEMPLES AND HUNTING PARK

REGION SITUATED ON FRAGRANT HILL AND THE WESTERN HILLS

The hunting park was the immense area to the west of the Palace region at the base of Fragrant Hill. Though several large temples erected in different dynasties dotted the area, its main function was for hunting and military exercises. The four major temples within the Garden of Quiet Delight during the Qianlong era were the Fragrant Hill Temple (*Xiangshan Si*) (Color Plate 5.2) built in the Jin dynasty; the Azure Clouds Temple (*Biyun Si*) begun in the Yuan dynasty (Fig 4.8); the Full Light Temple (*Hongguang Si*) dating from the Ming dynasty; and the Jade Flower Temple (*Yuhua Si*) of the Qing dynasty. (Color Plate 5.3) Each dynasty also added something religious to the garden.

We have noted that understanding Qing imperial hunting parks involves placing them in the context of a long and well-appreciated aesthetic tradition of Chinese garden building, and a lesser-known tradition of emperors in antiquity providing hunting enclosures for the elites.[9] Every dynasty had imperial gardens replete with palaces, aesthetic venues, open spaces for various activities, and animal enclosures. This latter component indicates that hunting in a garden was never completely abandoned. All rulers hosted banquets and hunting rituals for their guests, but none rivaled the Qing imperial events in the Garden of Perfect Brightness and the Imperial Mountain Resort for Escaping the Heat.

The Qianlong emperor was the last of the early Qing rulers to continue the tradition of the imperial hunt in Mulan. He especially liked assigning names of all kinds of fierce and unusual creatures to his favorite animals, like his prize dogs and valuable horses. To foster military skills, Qianlong also built a Drill Field (*Jiao Chang*) in the Garden of Perfect Brightness to practice archery, troop formations, and horsemanship. At a major dress parade held every three years, the emperor reviewed battle formations and the bannermen's skills in using arms, including cannon, guns, and bows and arrows. To upgrade the combat efficiency of the Eight Banner Troops, early Qing emperors established specialized troops such as the Wrestling Battalion (*Shuaijiao Ying*) and the Firearms Battalion (*Paobing Ying*.)

Lord Macartney, first British ambassador to China, who visited during Qianlong's reign, witnessed wrestlers competing at Chengde in 1793, but was disappointed that feats of equitation, at which those whom he called the Tartars were remarkably skilled, were omitted.[10]

In their insistence that hunting and military traditions remain essential elements of education, the Qing emperors followed not only

a Manchu tradition, but also an important, yet often overlooked, trend in Chinese imperial garden tradition, namely, that the Chinese emperors who created the earlier mega-parks were outstanding generals, as was their Manchu counterpart, the Qianlong emperor. A persistent interplay of two opposing traditions or ways of life, the military tradition, called *wu*, and the civilian tradition called *wen*, found expressions in Chinese garden design. Even though some dynasties, like the Qing and perhaps the Tang, had more *wu* than others, they were great *wen* dynasties as well.[11]

One of the paintings of the Garden of Quiet Delight on the Fragrant Hill, now in the Palace Museum, Beijing, by Zhang Ruocheng (1722-1770) is entitled *Twenty-eight Scenic Spots in the Garden of Quiet Delight*. (Color Plate 5.4) It indicates that this vast area was relatively free of complicated structures, even though the Qianlong emperor had created the *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* in the garden and also rebuilt some lodges after he visited the Fragrant Hill in 1745 (tenth year of the Qianlong reign). These scenic venues confirm the Garden of Quiet Delight's intended aesthetic purpose, just as other records reveal Mulan, as the sole venue for the emperor's annual imperial hunting trips.

THE PALACE REGION

The Qianlong emperor's official records and old Chinese geography books on Beijing list twenty-eight scenic views in the Garden of Quiet Delight. They were grouped within two areas: the Palace enclosure within the Inner Wall and the Garden/Annex enclosure outside it, but within the Outer Wall that Qianlong had built. In all, the emperor ordered fifteen scenes within easy access of three key buildings in the Palace Region. He placed the remaining thirteen of his *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* on ever-higher levels of the Fragrant Hill, west of the Palace region and outside the Inner Wall. Qianlong's placement of his *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* reveals the general plan of his new garden on the mountain. Like every creator of a Chinese garden, the emperor intended it to be an extension of his scholar personality in the best sense of Confucian and Daoist doctrines and perspectives. For example, he expressed a quintessentially Confucian idea of ascending a height to have a look. It symbolically meant rising above the here and now and looking into the past, or recalling historical personalities. Likewise, the emperor expressed Daoist ideas associated with distant views, a common element in Chinese garden design.[12]

To reach a structure outside the Inner Wall of the Garden of Quiet Delight, the emperor proceeded on northeast or southwest paths

immediately past the main palace gate in the east.[13] Besides this east Palace Gate to the Inner Enclosure were five other gates: in the northeast, the Northeast Gate (*Dongbei Men*); in the west, the White Gate of Agreement (*Yuebai Men*); in the southwest, the Chinese Scepter Gate (*Ruyi Men*); in the northwest, the Northwest Gate (*Zhongtingzi Men*); and in the north, the Presentation of Nourishment Gate (*Jin Shan Men*).

The Qianlong emperor carefully selected the names for the *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*. Those chosen for the fifteen scenes (Scenes One to Fifteen) within the Inner Wall are:[14] Diligence in State Affairs Hall (*Qinzheng Dian*) (Color Plate 5.5); Beautiful Views Building (*Lizhu Lou*); Green Clouds Barge (*Lüyun Fang*); Humble Gentleman's Studio (*Xulang Zhai*); Encircling Gem Cliff (*Yingluo An/Yan*); Slightly Green Pavilion (*Cuiwei Ting*); Unending Youth (*Qing Weiliao*); Tame Deer Slope (*Xunlu Po*); Toad Peak (*Chanchu Feng*); Dwell in the Clouds Building (*Qiyun Lou*); Know Happiness Gully (*Zhile Hao*); Fragrant Hill Temple; Listen to the Law Pines (*Tingfa Song*); Arrival of Green Study (*Laiqing Xuan*) (Color Plate 5.6); and Cry of Cranes over Frosty Marsh (*Lishuang Gao*).

Outside the Inner Wall stand the thirteen remaining venues (Scenes Sixteen to Twenty-eight) of the emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, which he named: Fragrant Hill Room (*Xiangyan Shi*); Rocky Steps Mark Rosy Scenes (*Xiabiao Deng*); Jade Milk Spring (*Yuru Quan*); Splendid Autumn Woods (*Xuanqiu Lin*); Fragrant Rains Mansion (*Yuxiang Guan*); Brilliant Rising Sun (*Xiyang E*); Hibiscus Plain (*Furong Ping*); Fragrant Fog Cave/Den (*Xiangwu Ku*); Moon Cliff Perch or Moonlight Cliff (*Qiyue Yai*); Dense Green Mountain in Gansu (*Zhongcui Yan*); Jade Flower Peak (*Yuhua Xiu*); Tablet of the Jade Forest (*Senyu Hu*); and Cloud Partition Bell (*Geyun Zhong*).[15]

EXPERIENCING THE GARDEN OF QUIET DELIGHT

To appreciate what the Garden of Quiet Delight was like in the eighteenth century, we turn to contemporary Chinese maps and materials that augment sources provided by the French engineer, G. Bouillard, in the early twentieth century. (Fig. 5.2) In all we will examine three areas: the northeast region; the southeast or Palace Region; and finally, the vast western region outside the Inner Wall.

The northeast region of the Garden of Quiet Delight, entered through the north gate, contained none of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, but several magnificent Buddhist temples

and a quiet Ming garden graced this sector. The absence of any of his scenes indicates that this sector did not fit into Qianlong's general plan of a scholar's garden. Instead, the design of this region suggests he intended it to retain its Ming characteristics and thus express the Confucian ideal of continuities with the past, and also to draw attention to the Buddhist metaphor of height through his temples; we recall that height equals enlightenment in the Buddhist sense.[16]

The north gate faces the splendid Azure Clouds Temple, which slants toward the northwest and rises on six levels, following the contours of the terrain, upward. In the Qianlong era, it was an integral part of the magnificent Buddhist temples on the northeast slope of Fragrant Hill.[17] Originally, a private residence of a court official of the Yuan dynasty, in 1331 it was turned into a Buddhist convent named the Azure Clouds Thatched Hut (*Biyun'an*).[18] In 1516, Yu Jing,[19] a powerful eunuch under the Zhengde emperor (r. 1506-1521) of the Ming dynasty, spent exorbitant amounts of money enlarging the temple. Another Ming eunuch, Wei Zhongxian, enhanced its majesty in 1623. The extant Ming structures are the pavilion of a religious painting of cinnabar and blue/black venerating Sakyamuni (*Danqing Ge*), and the Heavenly King Hall (*Tianwang Dian*) where believers worship an eight-foot tall, corpulent, copper likeness of the Buddha of the Future, Maitreya (*Mile Fo*).[20]

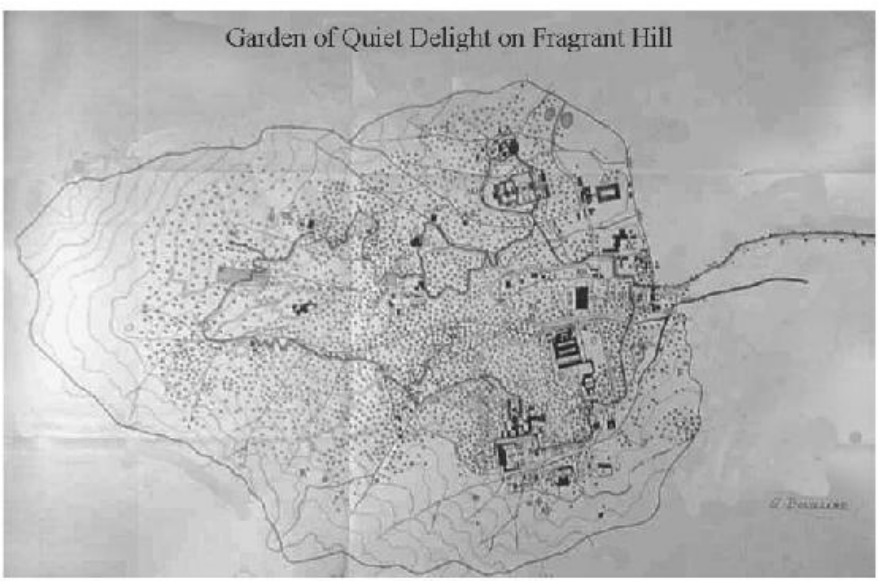


Figure 5.2 Map of Garden of Quiet Delight, by Georges Bouillard, early twentieth century. (Siu family collection).

In all, the Azure Clouds Temple contains five halls rising tier after tier at 300-foot intervals westward up a slope, each connected by

stairs or zigzag paths. In 1748, twelve years after he ascended the throne, the Qianlong emperor added the diamond seat in the westernmost limit. It consists of four, 10-foot-high, stone pagodas and various stupas around a central pagoda on a raised platform at the highest elevation. Called the Diamond Throne Pagoda (*Jingang Baozuo Ta*), the 100-foot high square structure resembles the Gaya Temple in India, but the carvings were done in Chinese style. (Figs. 5.3, 5.4 & 5.5). The emperor augmented the temple complex with the five hundred Arhats Hall (*Luohan Tang*). It is situated midway up the slope and to the west of the central axis. The Fountain Garden (*Shuiquan Yuan*) marks the Qianlong emperor's travel palace, but in the style of Jiangnan scenes he admired. Ancient pines and cypress, a pool of fountain water, a bridge and pavilions, as well as strange rocks make the scene exquisite.[21] The emperor probably stayed here on the evening of the fourteenth and the fifteenth days of the tenth Chinese month in 1756 (twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign). He had ridden by horseback in the morning before breakfast to the Garden of Quiet Delight. The records for the sixteenth day of that month mention sleighs and sheepskin-lined garments indicating the weather.[22]

After descending from the Azure Clouds Temple on the alternate road leading southward, the emperor reached a small, willow-bordered lake. The garden road runs down its center, bisecting it into the shape of a pair of glasses, hence its name: Spectacles Lake (*Yanjing Hu*). At the northwest of the large lenses of the lake there was a man-made rocky scene created by piling rocks, with a stone cave from which cascades a small waterfall of clear spring water originating from the Azure Clouds Temple.[23]

Southwest of Spectacles Lake is the completely enclosed compact Ming garden known as the Seeing the Mind Studio (*Jianxin Zhai*). It follows a centralized pattern. Its main design feature is that all the structures stand along the circumference with their fronts facing inward toward a central courtyard, which abuts an irregularly-shaped pool in the east. Its crystal-clear water is fed by sources at the Azure Clouds Temple. By this design, the inward-oriented courtyard creates an inner space, suggesting an intimate quiet atmosphere.[24]

This garden, which is about .8 acres in size, was begun in 1522, by Ming Jiajing, and in the Qing, the Jiaqing emperor, Qianlong's successor, undertook its restoration in 1796. The latter's words indicate the meaning of the garden's name: Circulate until you forget yourself; then you can comprehend Heaven's meaning (*Xunhuan wu yi jian tian xin*). This inscription emphasizes that the gardens were retreats for scholar officials to regain serenity through meditation.[25]

Figure 5.3 **Diamond Throne Pagoda *(Jinggang Baozuo Ta)*, Qianlong's addition to Temple of Azure Clouds *(Biyun Si)*.** (Siu family collection).

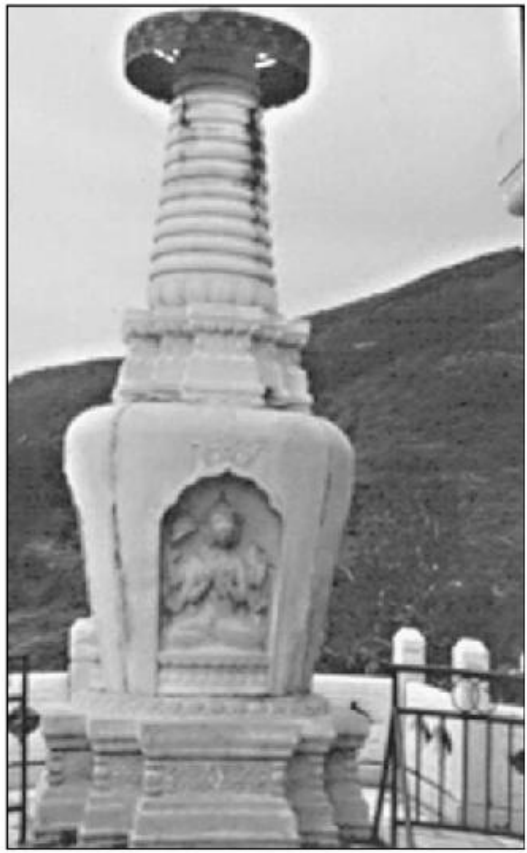


Figure 5.4 Carved Buddhist goddess, Sitatapatra, with victorious umbrella in stupa roof, Diamond Throne Pagoda, Temple of the Azure Clouds. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).

The garden has two parts: square-shaped structures on an artificial hilly section, and buildings connected to the water. One side utilizes two-story buildings with covered corridors, a winding, stone road down the hill links them on the southern side of the garden to the water. The buildings along the water form a semicircle featuring covered corridors. Mountain stones placed within each of these water-side structures link them closer to the mountainous sector. The latter's storied buildings, pavilions, and halls, seemingly strewn at random, actually link together disparate elements, but any turning point could catch the emperor's attention as did the old pines and green cypresses, which further set off each element artistically.[26]

Figure 5.5 Carved Buddhist goddess, Ushnishavijaya, roof, Diamond Throne Pagoda, Temple of the Azure Clouds. (Photograph by Victoria Siu).

To the southeast of the tiny Ming garden stands what is popularly known as the Luminous Temple (*Zhao Miao*) though its formal name is Mirror of Ancestors' Great Glory Temple (*Zongjing Dazhaozhi Miao*). It is modeled after the Tashilumpo Temple in Tibet.[27] Although it is not technically a garden like the Ming garden, it is important historically; the Qianlong emperor ordered it in 1780 (forty-fifth year of the Qianlong reign) as part of the welcome accorded Tibet's Sixth Banchen Lama on his visit to Beijing.[28] Thus it illustrates the Qianlong emperor's idea that all within his boundaries are included in his cosmos of the Garden of Perfect Brightness. He had earlier erected the Sumeru Happiness and Longevity Tibetan-style temple (*Xumi Fuzhou Zhimiao*) at Chengde, for this Banchen Lama who initially stayed at that temple beyond the Great Wall before proceeding to Beijing to congratulate the emperor on his seventieth birthday.[29]

In front of the temple gate, which faces east, is a small square with a multicolored tile and white marble commemorative archway with clouds, a dragon, and decorative patterns. This square marks the

terrain's extreme limit in the sense that there is nowhere to expand in front of it on the east. The red, three-bay front hall, standing on a white platform, towers four floors up, and extends to the east, north and south sides. To its west, behind it, is the Clear Wisdom Law Hall (*Qingjing Fazhi Dian*). Ten stone steps rise to the crest. Originally, on the uppermost red platform, to the east, west, north, and south were several large round wisdom halls, such as the Examining the Wonders of Wisdom Hall (*Miaoguan Chazhi Dian*). According to popular tradition, fine gold covered the tile crown of each structure enhancing its beauty.[30]

The finishing touch on the mountain slope, a seven-story, octagonal, tile pagoda, still towers majestically behind (west) and above all these graduated structures on different levels of the main temple complex. The pagoda features heavy eaves and rests on an octagonal, stone base. (Color Plate 5.7) Carved images of Buddha grace each of the eight sides of the foundation. The pagoda's shape resembles Chengde's tile pagoda.[31] A multicolored, tile commemorative arch also survives, and a square pool bridged by a rainbow span adds some perspective. The restored, tall, central edifice of the red Luminous Temple features a courtyard in the middle, which still contains a stone tablet engraved with multinational calligraphy proclaiming the historic reason for this temple.[32] The four languages of the inscriptions, Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan, emphasize the multiethnic nature of the Qianlong emperor's cosmos, miniaturized in the Garden of Perfect Brightness. (Color Plate 5.8).

The Southeast or Palace Region features a mountain path that descends to the southeast and leads to the East Gate (*Dong Men*), giving the emperor access to the most important scenic region within the Palace Enclosure in the Garden of Quiet Delight. The Qianlong emperor distributed fifteen of his *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* along this extensive southeast to southwest valley of Fragrant Hill in order to project his persona. In turn, these scenes help us understand his notions of what he thought a Chinese garden for quiet delight should offer. Since the Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars, He and Zeng, only select three of these fifteen Palace Region scenes for description, and the other twelve are within easy reach of the three, I have designated them the "three key venues" and cluster the other scenes as satellites around them. These three served vastly different purposes in Qianlong's imperial garden: an administrative center, a scholar's studio, and a major temple.

Qing officials had to pass many inspections before reaching the Qianlong emperor's chief administrative building called the Diligence in State Affairs Hall. Designated Scene 1, what appears to be the first key venue conveys distinctive Confucian and Daoist overtones to the

emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* on the Fragrant Hill.[33] The layout of the complex included a stone bridge spanning the Moon River (*Yue He*), a pair of three-bay government buildings on either side, and, finally, the Palace Gatehouse (*Gong Men*) directly fronting the five-bay Diligence in State Affairs Hall. Also called Receive and See Princes, Officials, and Hundred High Officials (*Yanjian Gongqing Bailiao*), it served as the Qing rulers' main place for conducting government business. Within stood two tablets with inspiring sayings inscribed in the Qianlong emperor's calligraphy. His commitment to the task of government was not just a matter of words. To the end of his reign, he conducted business with his officials, members of his family and court, and visiting dignitaries, not only in the palace but when here, in the gardens. They were far from being exclusively for pleasure.[34]

The Moon River's water source was at the Azure Clouds Temple to its north. The water was channeled southward to form a small pool. From there it poured into the Moon River, which flowed in front of the main hall.[35] An artificial hill of strange rocks and other structures also added a garden touch to this important administrative venue.[36]

Two of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* clustered immediately west of this Diligence in State Affairs Hall, add beauty and delight to the area. Scene Two, known popularly as the Central Palace (*Zhong Gong*), but officially named the Beautiful Views Building, stands immediately behind it. Its name obviously puts it among those many edifices designed for distant viewing of rivers and mountains, like those still found in the gardens of Suzhou and Shanghai. Originally, this centrally-located venue included major structures such as a five-bay banqueting hall named Beautiful Extended Guest House (*Hengxiu Guan*). Located immediately beside the venue's portal, it was so named because it extended laterally along the base of the Fragrant Hill, with its back to the west and its front facing east. Records show that the Qianlong emperor recited a poem about this scene. He was obviously inspired by the distant view of the heights and familiar with its Daoist connotations, namely, that the Chinese garden is primarily an expression of escape from the rigid-ity of Confucian regulations[37] and the duties of his everyday life, which he fulfilled in the adjacent administrative hall.[38]

Behind the Beautiful Views Building stands the Qianlong emperor's unique Green Clouds Barge, designated Scene Three.[39] It is a Qing-era complete garden. Most Chinese gardens were designed around lakes or ponds, but Fragrant Hill lacked a large water surface, although it contained springs and small streams. So the Qianlong emperor created the effect of a more extended lake by not only excavating a larger area for water, but also extending the land into the water and ordering a barge-shaped edifice placed on it. In selecting this peculiar design, the

emperor was projecting his scholar persona as avoiding both the commonplace and the willfully eccentric. Like the Northern Song statesman Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072) who named a wing of his garden office Pleasure Boat Studio, Qianlong hoped people inside this garden would feel as if they were viewing the mountains, clouds, and forests from a boat sailing across the water.[40]

The design somewhat resembled the Kangxi emperor's venue at Chengde's Imperial Mountain Resort for Escaping the Heat number twenty-six of the *Thirty-six Favorite Scenes* of Kangxi, and named Cloud Sail Moon Barge (*Yunfan Yuefang*).[41] The venue in the Central Lake area, studded with islands, overlooked the water on the west shore of the largest island named Chinese Scepter Island (*Ruyi Zhou*). During the summer, the Kangxi emperor lived and handled his affairs in the S-shaped island's many structures,[42] but he rested or even fished from the breeze-cooled, barge-shaped Cloud Sail Moon Barge—on land.[43] A sketch conveys its unique structure amid its landscape setting, and also shows the one created by the Qianlong emperor on the shores of an artificial lake on the Fragrant Hill.[44]

Not far southwest of the Palace Gate and south of Green Clouds Barge is Scene Four of the *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*: the Humble Gentleman's Studio.[45] Since the Qianlong emperor clustered no fewer than four of the *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* around it; the site, whose ensemble indicates the spirit of the scholar's venue, seems to constitute the second key venue. It originally featured a stone canal bordered by rattan plants that served as a winding wine cup stream (*qushui liushang*) for poetry contests. The main venue consisted of four key structures named Chan Buddhist House (*Huachan Shi*); Study the Ancients Hall (*Xuegu Tang*) (which had Confucian implications of stressing the past and continuities); Exquisite Orchid Hall (*Yulan Tang*);[46] and Stored Fragrance Chamber (*Zhufang Lou*).[47] The Qianlong emperor also wrote a poem about the Humble Gentleman's Studio that had spiritual implications, as it cites river and cloud offerings. These and other references to nature and deities indicate that the emperor was not only familiar with Laozi's teachings, but also was expressing the meaning of the Daoist precept of acting in accordance with nature by designing this venue.[48]

The first satellite venue, designated Scene Five and named Encircling Gem Cliff, lies immediately to its south and contains essential elements of a scholar's garden. A Small Waterfall (*Xiao Pubu*), formed from spring water, cascaded down a manmade stone hill. The Qianlong emperor likened the sounds of living water, a much sought-after effect in Chinese gardens, to beautiful music. A small pavilion, appropriately named Pure Sound (*Qingyin*), originally stood above the falls, in accordance with the precepts of garden design. The

piled stones became as a necklace, the tumbling waters tinkled, other stone formations towered, so that in the pavilions, one appreciated the scene through several senses. This fine venue refreshed one's spirit through harmoniously presenting nature.[49]

Southeast of the Encircling Gem Cliff was the Slightly Green Pavilion, designated Scene Six by the Qianlong emperor.[50] The terms green pavilion and cliff might allude to the Distant Green Pavilion (*Canglang Ting*) in Suzhou's Liu Garden and also to a poetic phrase evoking both melancholy feelings and mountains.[51] In all seasons, the small, well-placed pavilion revealed the panorama of Fragrant Hill, but was not so high a level as to obstruct the view of the water below.[52]

The name of another small mountain pavilion, the emperor's Scene Seven, derives its name, Unending Youth, from the famous poet, Du Fu's (712-777) work "Looking toward the High Mountain" (*Wang Yue*). Qianlong shared the Tang dynasty scholar's longing for Tai Shan, the most sacred of China's mountains, for people who have never experienced Tai Shan feel as "unfilled as youth" (*qing weiliao*).[53]

The final favorite scene around Humble Gentleman's Studio, Scene Eight of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, is the Tame Deer Slope.[54] It shows the emperor continued the tradition of reserving garden venues for raising herds of deer as tribute offerings, and perhaps for hunting purposes.[55] But since Qianlong intended his twenty-eight scenes to promote Chinese garden aesthetics and Daoist sentiments, he probably fostered the deer in his garden to emphasize the principle of maintaining a harmonious whole within nature, in this case between animal and man in this world and the hereafter.

As the four satellites clustered around the Humble Gentleman's Studio reveal, historically and architecturally, how the Qianlong emperor transformed the area into a Garden of Quiet Delight, so likewise do the next six favorite scenes around the Fragrant Hill Temple. In addition, some popular tales, familiar to emperor and commoner alike, indicate this new area's change from a hunting park. The temple itself is the third key venue and has uplifting themes, including Buddhist, for the southwest Palace Region.

Its first satellite venue, Scene Nine of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, bears the strange name, Toad Peak. The hilly site on a mountain path to the southwest of the temple features a large rock, which the startled emperor likened to a huge toad with trembling jowls, long cheeks, a white belly, and protuberant eyes. On rainy days in the sixth lunar month, one can allegedly hear his pitiable cries. He is also capable of responding to any sympathy with a baby's gurgling, so no one should succumb to the toad's overtures. According to folklore, the stone toad was originally a corrupt, greedy official

whom a mountain deity transformed.[56] An imperial inscription attests the emperor using an unusually-shaped natural element to express his endorse-ment of Confucian standards for government officials.

Dwell in the Clouds Building, the name of the venue designated Scene Ten, lies northeast of Toad Peak and about midway up Fragrant Hill's western slope. An imperial record reveals that the emperor assigned about equal value to the architectural elements and the setting in his garden design. Initially, he was uncertain what architectural elements most suited its layered cliffs, which leaned to the right at that place. To compensate for the natural bend to the east on Fragrant Hill, he slightly emphasized the western structures. Colorful luxuriant growths concealed some of these halls and the natural irregularities. Therefore Qianlong's design of the venue halfway up the mountain successfully enhanced nature, and the entire garden scene attained what scholars call a refined and beautiful level.[57]

On the western slope the Qianlong emperor designated a simple site, Know Happiness Gully as Scene Eleven of the *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* on Fragrant Hill. The design features a stone bridge spanning a deep fishpond that stretched in the front of the Fragrant Hill Temple. Though the front of the pool was a single unit, its rear formed two square ponds. Spring water cascaded swiftly down winding mountain ravines. When the currents of Fragrant Hill's spring water flowed into this tripartite pool, they supported darting fish swimming with abandon as well as liver mosses and water plants.

By the design of the site and the choice of its name, the Qianlong emperor alluded to the teaching of the Daoist Master Zhuangzi (ca. 399-295 B.C.).[58] By ordering a bridge arching over fish-filled water, he referred to a debate between the Daoist Master and Huizi while they were strolling on the span over the Trench River (*Hao He*), after the Master pointed out the darting fishes' pleasure.[59] By designating the Know Happiness Gully as an important venue, the Qianlong emperor showed not only his appreciation for Daoist teachings on how to follow the joyful Way of Nature, but also invited his people to ponder the wisdom of ages past.

The path southwest from the Humble Gentleman's Studio leads to Scene Twelve and the heart of this third key venue of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*: the Fragrant Hill Temple. It marks the site of the oldest temple in the region, which the Jin ruler Shizong constructed in 1186 and named Perpetual Peace Temple (*Yong'an Si*).[60] In the eighteenth century, the Qianlong emperor changed its designation to the Fragrant Hill Temple.

In its heyday, the temple gate faced east. The temple compound corresponded with the contours of the mountain, rising level after

level up its slope. A commemorative arch graced the front, while within, old pines set off each other as well as inspired another of the *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*. Directly in its center was an imposing hundred-step, stone, grand staircase that links together five large halls. On the lowest level of the temple stood a seven-bay hall, behind which was the Eyes Open to the World (*Yanjie Kuan*) with six square-shaped, three-storied chambers and some six-bay halls. From ancient times, distant views from storied buildings in Chinese gardens were common design elements. Sima Guang's mountain-viewing terrace in his garden refers to Dao Qian's couplet that is associated with Daoist concepts, including the Southern Mountain, Mt. Lu, as the abode of the Immortals as well as retreats for Daoist recluses.[61]

At the top of the staircase is a huge, stone screen with a white, marble foundation. Engraved on its front are the records of three pagodas, while three Buddhist images grace the rear. The Qianlong emperor's calligraphy appears on stone pillars on either side. In a lower courtyard, a square stone tablet has in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Sanskrit the phrase Song of Holly Tree Pavilion (*Poluo Shu Ge*).[62] It is the holly tree that graces the next site.

Scene Thirteen of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, named Listen to the Law Pines, obviously featured pines, but what he meant by the name needs clarification. In his era, many Chinese junipers graced Fragrant Hill, but only special pine saplings are found in the region immediately outside the front gate of the Fragrant Hill Temple. Within the temple complex near the main structure grew a single venerable juniper tree, designated as an ancient wonder. Chinese painters and poets frequently selected old trees for their subjects. The emperor lauded this old pine as being a hundred *chi* or Chinese feet tall indicating it had attained an unforseeable height.[63] Within the Mountain Gate (*Shan Men*), holly trees (*Poluo Shu*) flourished.[64] These can attain a height of thirty feet.

Because of the Qianlong emperor's familiarity with the widely known ancient tale about a famous Daoist monk's inept apprentices, he ordered some regional tall, straight pine saplings placed in the scenic venue, calling it Listen to the Law Pines. These trees symbolized self-disciplined and steadfast disciples rather than rock heads, i.e., knuckle heads.[65] The emperor enclosed the saplings with a stone fence to protect them and ordered the terms Listen to the Law Pines carved large on a rock. Today, amid the ruins of the venue stand some pines and these same terms, but engraved in 1933.[66] Chinese garden designers continue to favor old pines and saplings in their design.

Scene Fourteen, named Arrival of Green Study, lies immediately north the Fragrant Hill Temple.[67] In the Qianlong era the Arrival of

Green Study comprised three groups of buildings on a terrace and a prominent, five-bay edifice named the Guanyin Pavilion (*Guanyin Ge*).[68] The emperor Zhangzong (r. 1189-1208) of the Jin dynasty (1115-1234) constructed the antecedent of the Arrival of Green Study, but he named it Seven Stars Platform (*Qixing Tai*).[69] The Qianlong emperor inspected the site several times because, as noted on his own inscription on a horizontal board, he understood the venue as most favorable for gazing far into the distance at the stars and at landscapes, referred to as mountains and rivers.[70]

The last of the Qianlong emperor's several favorite scenes augmenting the Fragrant Hill Temple lies to its north. Designated Scene Fifteen and named Cry of Cranes over Frosty Marsh (*Lishuang Gao*),[71] here he listened to the birds' seasonal cries, especially in the mornings. Sometimes they mingled with the sound of Buddhist chants and the beat of fish drums (*yugu*), instruments emblematic of the reclusive Zhang Guolao, the second of the Eight Daoist Immortals.[72] In the Qianlong era, the venue actually featured a flock of cranes, highly auspicious creatures associated with Daoist concepts of longevity. The emperor's name selection seems to stem from a poem in the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shi Jing*) that likens listening to the cry of cranes over nine marshes to tuning into heavenly sounds.[73]

The West Region[74] houses the remaining thirteen favorite scenes of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, which are located outside the Palace Wall on the steep area of Fragrant Hill west of the Palace Region.[75] They are significant additions to his scholar's garden since distant views of rivers and mountains from heights are part of the tradition of Chinese garden design.

The Qianlong emperor valued highly the magnificent, fifteenth-century Ming dynasty Full Light Temple.[76] That he appreciated it is evidenced by his designating one sector of the temple as a favorite scene as well as creating another much-loved scene immediately in front of it.

The Ming emperor Zhengtong (r. 1436-1449) began erecting the original Full Light Temple, which was augmented by the Ming emperor, Chenghua, (r. 1465-1487).[77] Always a devout Buddhist and, intermittently, a Daoist believer as well, Chenghua multiplied the temples both in the capital (allegedly to 639 before 1481) and outside it, until an uninterrupted chain of temples was visible from the summit of the Western Hills.[78] Ming court records attest that Zheng Tong, an official of the Imperial Household Department (*Neiwu Fu*), renewed the engineering of the temple complex. What is noteworthy is that he was a Korean. His country's ruler, King Li Tao, came to China to offer tribute around the reign of the Xuande emperor (r. 1426-1435). During his visit to Ming China, the king traveled to

Fragrant Hill's east Diamond Mountain (*Jingang Shan*) in the Azure Clouds Temple. After his experience of venerating Maitreya and the myriad other Buddhist deities, he returned to Fragrant Hill intent on expressing his devotion architecturally. He ordered a Round Hall (*Yuan Dian*) built for worshipping Maitreya as well as the thousands of marvelously crafted Buddhas, each with similar features and enthroned on a precious lotus. This remarkable structure instigated by a Korean marks the integration of Chinese culture in that country.[79]

The early twentieth-century source by the French engineer Bouillard confirms the Ming temple's Round Hall (really octagonal, according to Bouillard), contained one thousand Buddhas surrounding the statue of Maitreya. His study details the orientation of the temple complex, and describes a second notable structure, probably dedicated to the King of Heaven (*Tian Wang*). This impressive temple resembled one in Korea.[80] It is important that the Korean origin of the Round Hall is supported by a twentieth century source.

Further, we learn from Bouillard that at the rear of the temple complex court, immediately past the Round Hall, was a five-bay principal horizontal structure. In addition, two large, lateral buildings, named Great Void Room (*Tai Xu Shi*) and Fragrant Cliff Room (*Xiangyan Shi*), extended toward the Round Hall, enclosing its two sides, while the horizontal one formed a terminus.[81] The round and square shapes of the four major structures in the Full Light Temple admirably demonstrate that Chinese architecture is based on cosmic elements. The round structure indicates Heaven, while the square signifies Earth. (Even ordinary house designs in China feature these celestial forms.) The inclusion of these basic cosmic shapes in a Ming imperial garden points to the Chinese intent of maintaining the cosmos as a harmonious whole.

Thanks to the Qianlong emperor's Scene Sixteen, we possess an important Qing record which confirms earlier records, described above, of the unusual origins for part of the Full Light Temple in the Ming era. Named Scene Sixteen of his *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, Qianlong's Fragrant Cliff Room[82] also featured a round hall dedicated to the Buddhist deity, Maitreya, just like its Ming predecessor, ordered by a Korean monarch. A Qianlong record also cites the inscription, Fragrant Hill's Clean/Complete City (*Xiangyan Jing Cheng*) on a horizontal board for this venue.[83]

Immediately in front of the major Full Light Temple is Scene Seventeen of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*. Named Rocky Steps Mark Rosy Scenes, it featured piled stone steps arranged in nine bends and eighteen twists upward. They were inspired by a Buddhist and Tang dynasty painter, Li Sixun, and a landscape by Wang Wei of Mt. Shu in Sichuan with its plank road built along a cliff.

The imperial poem accompanying the scene praises the experience of treading stone steps to admire rosy (ideal) scenes. No doubt viewers ascending such heights and looking into the distance evoked their reflections on the permanence of mountains and streams in contrast to the short duration of their own lives,[84] hence the emperor's selection of names for this precious mountain eyrie.[85]

The main road winding westward and up the Fragrant Hill led to the emperor's Scene Nineteen named Splendid Autumn Woods.[86] Located in the heartland of the garden's smoke trees (*Huanglu*), it features a panoramic view of the Fragrant Hill's famous red leaves of the smoke trees in autumn, which were likened to a painting, clustered on both sides of the western slope of the mountain, south of the Fragrant Hill Temple.[87]

The earliest plantings of these smoke trees were on the southern slopes during the Qianlong era, but northwest winds gradually blew their seeds toward the southeast side of the mountain, slowly creating the extensive wooded venue of today.[88] Looking like glowing sunsets, they provide one of the seasonal colorations that Chinese creators of gardens derive from tree plantings, something the Qianlong emperor obviously appreciated when embellishing this imperial garden. Despite the site's early delicate finery in springtime, it does not compare to its fresh autumnal scarlet beauty offset by myriad pines.[89]

This scene moved numerous painters and poets. It likewise inspired the saying, "Autumn's Springtime in the Fragrant Hill" and the popular tale, recounted here, on how the famed leaves on Fragrant Hill became red.[90] The story features a loving daughter who dwelt with her venerable father, Yu Qing, at the foot of the hill. Already over sixty, he continued to gather medicinal herbs while his daughter, Chuan Hong, gained fame embroidering, especially wild flowers. One day she asked her father to accompany her to Fragrant Hill's summit where grew multicolored Cloud Flowers (*Yun Duo*) so she could incorporate them into her designs. On the road, Chuan Hong looked like a little deer while scampering around plucking mountain flowers. Halfway up when she grew thirsty, her old father told her to be patient as they searched the mountain for spring water. In those times Fragrant Hill's tall grasses and dense woods made the paths up the steep hills dangerous. Furthermore, a large Green Snake spirit resided there, usually in a ditch. It had dined on the winds and drunk dew ever since it stole the thousand-year-old glossy mushroom (*lingzhi*) to eat and turned into a spirit capable of changing its appearance while it daily wrought mischief on the mountain.

That day, the large Green Snake spirit, positioned on a ditch stone, drying its scales, spied the lovely girl plucking flowers. The snake conceived an evil plan: it transformed into an alluring red mountain

apricot or ginko (*shan xing*) dangling from one of the many such trees on Fragrant Hill, which at that time had smoke trees. The thirsty Chuan Hong mistakenly ate the mountain apricot, which acted as a poison. Her father hastily plucked some medicinal herbs, placed it in her mouth, and started carrying the unconscious girl. The Green Snake spirit then made a shrine to the Mysterious Lady of the Ninth Heaven (*Jiutian Xuannu*), a Daoist deity, appear on the old man's route and the spirit changed into the shape of the goddess. Old Yu Qing lay Chuan Hong down there and earnestly beseeched the deity for assistance.

The Green Snake spirit devised yet another plan that caused the father's death. When the old man saw his daughter vomit a realistic-looking snake from her mouth, he fled outside, not knowing the snake spirit had earlier changed the door lintel into a cavity into which he dropped. At that juncture, the true Mysterious Lady of the Ninth Heaven arrived, saved the daughter, and slew the snake spirit. After Chuan Hong revived she cried unceasingly while searching in vain for her father. When her tears ran dry, the deity transformed her into the goddess for Fragrant Hill's red leaves, for wherever Chuan Hong's tears had fallen, smoke trees sprang up. Subsequently, in autumn, their red leaves brightened the open spaces, while the mountain apricots, which the Green Snake spirit had used, became hidden. This popular tale about the filial daughter turned Red Leaves Goddess still moves hearts.[91]

Although Chinese scholars disagree as to whether the above scenes lay within or outside the Inner Wall, they concur that the remaining eight of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* lie outside this barrier. A key scene, referred to as the Outer Seventh Scene or Scene Twenty-seven is named the Tablet of the Jade Forest.[92]

On that part of the mountain, midway up stands a huge, steep, towering stone bearing the emperor's three-word inscription "Towering Jade Tablet." When he composed a poem praising the mountain range visible from this venue in dignified succession and clothed in luxuriant woods, he undoubtedly knew that mountains are essential yang elements in the yin-yang equation for harmony with nature.[93] The sound of invisible flowing water[94] constitutes the counterbalancing yin element.

The meaning of the selected name, Tablet of the Jade Forest, deserves some attention, given the longstanding Chinese landscape tradition. Each poetic or prosodic inscription in a scholar's garden indicates how he envisioned that a particular garden site would function. At the same time the choice contributes some understanding of its author.[95] Upon noticing a large stone shaped like a tablet used by a courtier (*huban*), the Qianlong emperor bestowed the name Tablet of the Jade Forest on the venue. Use of the jade tablet referred

to was restricted to the emperor. By selecting this term, the Qianlong emperor declared that the huge stone at the site is *not* just a courtier's tablet but, instead, a "towering *imperial* tablet." These three words thus signify the Qianlong emperor symbolically engaged in governing his cosmos before the Heavens.[96] At the same time the emperor defined his world in poetic imagery.

On a higher level still is Scene Twenty-four of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*.[97] Named Moon Cliff Perch or Moonlight Cliff, the scene, which featured a three-bay pavilion, lies south of the Western Hills Shimmering in Snow (*Xi Shan Qingxue*).[98] When the Qianlong emperor selected the venue's name, he showed his familiarity with Li Daoyuan's saying about tall mountains piercing the clouds, enabling one to see far; their cliffs seemed like a piebald horse harnessed to the moon.[99] He also demonstrated his continued search for favorable garden sites for viewing the moon.

After leaving his Moon Cliff Perch or Moonlight Cliff, the emperor would soon reach the mountain pavilion named Cloud Bell Partition, which constituted Scene Twenty-eight of the *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*. The sounds of various bells from the numerous temples, like those of the Reclining Buddha Temple (*Wofu Si*), clustered on the Western Hills adjacent to the Fragrant Hill, transported the listeners to heavenly places; hence the name he selected.[100]

The highest point and western terminus of the circular main road ends by arching downwards to the east. Scene Twenty-one of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, named Brilliant Rising Sun lies on that route.[101] Midway up the Fragrant Hill, it centered around a stone cave, named Greeting the Sun Cave (*Chaoyang Dong*), and a temple to Guanyin, named Guanyin Pavilion, behind the cave. Since no Buddhist monasteries stood nearby, the Qianlong emperor venerated Dragon Gods of the popular religion within the cave; we have noted that dragons are major garden elements linked to Daoism. The emperor's name for the site alludes to a song by Qu Yuan.[102]

Another cave scene, designated Scene Twenty-three of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, is named Fragrant Fog Cave/Den.[103] It featured a large, seven-bay structure, remarkable because it was the highest man-made structure on Fragrant Hill. The panoramic view of endless mountain formations and limitless skies inspired the emperor to write: "It is not easy for boundaries to stretch endlessly like this. When a person climbs, heights inhibit; when the eye looks into the distance, borders limit it. But to reach here one may experience a self-awakening."[104] He therefore valued self-awareness and created natural places in his garden to facilitate it.

Western Hills Shimmering in Snow is a key landmark in the Garden of Quiet Delight. The venue juxtaposes the Fragrant Fog Cave/

Den site and lies directly beneath the Fragrant Hill's highest point called Incense Burner Peak. Although not designated as one of the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*, another popular tale indicates the commoner's view that the emperor appreciated this garden venue so highly that he devoted an entire day to the scholar's task of naming it appropriately. Since the high terrain of the venue in question is so open, it provides a panoramic view of the garden in every season. In the summer, it remains cool at this elevated site; in the spring, it is fragrant with flowers. Autumn brings out this garden's special red foliage, but it is the winter snow scenes stretching far into the distance in the twelfth month that most attracted the Qianlong emperor and inspired him to compose a fitting poetic inscription in the finest tradition of scholars.[105]

South and slightly east of the Dragon King Temple is a far more elaborate complex, the magnificent Qing building named the Jade Flower Temple that the Qianlong emperor designated Scene Twenty-six of his favorite *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*.[106] Jade Flower was originally the name of a famed Ming temple. The Qinglong emperor built the Jade Flower Peak venue on the site of its ruins. Here old trees reach high and the environment is open and clear.

The Qianlong emperor criticized the small narrow scale of the Ming venue, which could not compare to the Arrival of Green Study, the subject of the fourteenth of his *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*. Therefore, he augmented the southern sector of the Jade Flower Temple with buildings. One was round, like the important Ming shrine noted for its circular and square design to reference the garden as a cosmos, and dedicated to venerating Maitreya and hundreds of other Buddhist deities. Thereupon the scene became unique, a venue overlooking the forested hills where clouds seemed to originate or return, as if to envelop the cliffs.[107]

After entering the mountain gate which faces east, the emperor reached the three-room front hall. The hall's southwest building was the Jade Flower Temple. To its east was the important Heaven and Earth Temple (*Gaotu Jingshe*).[108] (Fig. 5.6) What distinguished the Jade Flower Temple venue in the Qing Dynasty were two temples. Within them were Korean-designed halls where King Li Tao and a Korean monk, sent to the court of Beijing in the seventeenth century, were venerated. When the artist Li Shizhuo (ca.1690-1770),[109] minister of the Censorate and member of the Academy of Painters, visited the Summer Palace, the Qianlong emperor ordered him to pay a visit to the Jade Flower Temple site with its round- and square-shaped temples. On his return from the complex, the artist offered a painting made in the place to the emperor. It featured the round-shaped Heaven and Earth Temple, a dependency of the main temple.

Its very name underlines the important Chinese cosmic elements, here embodied in architectural form.

According to the poems composed by the Qianlong emperor and inscribed by him at the top of this painting, when the monarch was tired from dealing with political questions in the Diligence in State Affairs Hall, he took a sedan chair to the high ridge of the Fragrant Hill to venerate the deities in the Jade Flower Temple. Then he rested and meditated by himself in the Heaven and Earth Temple, his favorite place in the hunting park. Therefore, the latter temple was really the Emperor's resting place while the former was a worship venue.[110]

CONCLUSION

In the eighteenth century the Qianlong emperor embellished the Garden of Quiet Delight on the rugged terrain of the Fragrant Hill with *Twenty-eight Scenic Views*. The imperial garden in the foothills of the Western Hills had long served as a wondrous religious venue with myriad temples and monasteries and sometimes as a hunting park. The vast forested preserves outside the Palace Region, a tame deer park, and other features in this and all Qing imperial parks preserved the long Chinese and Manchu hunting dimension of imperial gardens.

Figure 5.6 Li Shizhuo, ink painting of Temple of the Heaven and Earth (*Gaotu Jingshe*), the main temple of Yuhua Xiu. (Siu family collection).

We learn of the garden's changed purposes from official and unofficial records. The Imperial Household Department's Clothing Records of 1756 note the Qianlong emperor's in-motion viewing of the Garden of the Clear Ripples as well as his absences from the Garden of

Perfect Brightness for official visits to hold his annual autumn hunts for Manchu, Mongol, Kazakh, and Uighur nobles and lower-ranking elites[111] at the Summer Palace at Chengde and its adjacent hunting venue. A study of the architectural elements, natural settings, and inscriptions relating to the Qianlong emperor's *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* in the Garden of Quiet Delight likewise reveals his intentions. One major objective was that his garden be a mini-cosmos in harmony with nature. The design of his magnificent Jade Flower Temple mirrored the same cosmic elements: the round (heaven) central temple, enclosed by square (earth) halls, as the Ming dynasty Full Light Temple on Fragrant Hill. The emperor enhanced the Jin dynasty Fragrant Hill Temple by adding Scene Thirteen, which he named Listening to the Law Pines.

The other *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* and popular folk tales regarding this imperial garden reveal that the Qianlong emperor no longer hunted on Fragrant Hill. Instead, he performed rituals at temples, enhanced the garden by adding missing natural elements such as smoke trees, and practiced the Chinese literati's pastime of naming natural phenomena such as odd-shaped rocks or seasonal landscapes, displayed from architectural elements he tastefully positioned on mountain peaks within his Garden of Quiet Delight. His *Twenty-eight Scenic Views* on Fragrant Hill help us understand that he wanted increasingly to be seen as a scholar expressing Confucian and Daoist ideas in garden designs, especially those associated with distant views from heights. Nevertheless, some of the venues he created within this imperial garden reveal it to be designed as a world garden in the sense of being a harmonious whole. A notable non-Chinese addition was the red Tibetan temple in the northeast sector known as the Luminous Temple, erected on the occasion of the Sixth Banchen Lama's visit in 1780. Therefore, the fifth and westernmost part of the entire Garden of Perfect Brightness demonstrates, as do the other four sectors, that the Qianlong emperor created a Garden of the World in Miniature (*Tianxia Penjing*). It also revealed his centrality in the political, religious, and aesthetic realities of the multi-ethnic peoples he governed.

NOTES

1. According to Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 20, the name derives from the Manchu word *muran* (to call deer) and refers to the Manchu method of imitating the stag's call when hunting deer.

2. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 57.

3. Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705-1724). Introduzion-ne, Testo critico,*

note e appendice documentaria de Michele Fatica, vol. 2 (1771) (Napoli: *Istituto universitario orientale*, 1996), 23. Spence, *Emperor of China*, 8, portrays Kangxi counting his kill, including 135 tigers, 20 bears, and 14 deer.

4. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 904-5.

5. Ibid., 911. The duration of the 1756 hunt and imperial visits to Mulan far exceeds the average of 20 days for Qianlong's imperial hunts at Mulan given by Chinese authors cited by Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 21.

6. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 64.

7. Swinhoe . *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860*, 334.

8. R. J. L. M'Ghee. *How We Got to Pekin: A Narrative of the Campaign in China of 1860* (London: Richard Bentley, 1862, 283-86.

9. Although there are some Chinese studies, the most thorough study is by Schafer, "Hunting Parks," 318-43.

10. Peyrefitte, *The Immobile Empire*, 254-55.

11. See Bodde, *Chinese Thought, Society and Science*, 299-305, for a discussion of these two traditions.

12. Laing's study of the early sixteenth century Suzhou master, Qiu Ying's depiction of the *Duluo Yuan*, a Jiangnan garden by the eleventh century statesman, Sima Guang best expresses how a garden is a personal construction. See her "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 375-80.

13. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, Tu 1-94, 62.

14. Fifteen scenes within the Inner Wall according to He and Zeng, ibid, 73, but Li Zhiwen and Li Chaoying, *Xiang Shan Lansheng* (Scenic sights of Fragrant Hill) (Beijing: *Beijing yenshan chubanshe*, 1990), 35, lists twenty scenes.

15. British and French troops destroyed these sites in 1860; they remain as ruins today. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 35.

16. Clunas, *Friuitful Sites*, 151.

17. Today a wall indicates the Azure Clouds Temple is an independent unit. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 64.

18. *Xiang Shan* 香山; *Tourist Attraction Xiangshan (Fragrant Hill) Park* [Bilingual brochure.].

19. Editor's Note: Dr. Siu referred to this person as Yu Jing; however, Dr. Xi Liang thinks she meant Liu Jing.

20. *Beijing Gucha Mingsi (Ancient Temples of Beijing)*, 104-5.

21. Ibid., 102, 106, 108.

22. *Yuanming Yuan historical materials*, 2: 907-8.

23. Today a cable car to the north of the lake connects directly to Incense Burner Peak. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 64; Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 19-20.

24. *Qing dai Yuyuan Jieying. The Best Specimens of Imperial Gardens of the Qing Dynasty*, Series of Beijing's Gardens and Ancient Buildings,

Department of Architecture of Tianjin University (Tianjin: Tianjin University Press, 1990), 21, 23. Another name of the garden is from its central structure, Fixed Righteousness Hall (*Zhengning Tang*).

25. Most recently the Fragrant Hill District has been completely renovated and this classical garden has been restored to its premiere rank. Garden experts claim it surpasses two other centralized pattern gardens in the Beijing area, Beihai's Quiet Heart Studio (*Jingxin Zhai*) and Pleasure Boat Studio (*Hua Fang Zhai*), because, though small, the Fragrant Hill's Studio of Seeing the Mind's layout was very appropriate. It was more succinct than Beihai's Quiet Heart Studio and richer than North Lake's Pleasure Boat Studio. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 64.

26. Ibid.

27. Fu, *Rehe xinggong*, [33].

28. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 64.

29. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 21.

30. Ibid., 21-22.

31. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 64.

32. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 22.

33. G. Bouillard, *Pékin et ses environs*, Ser. 7, *Hsiang Shan ou parc de chasse* (Pékin: Albert Nachbaur, 1923). Unfortunately, this publication has no pagination. However, he provides an alphabetical sequence for his itinerary both on the map and in the corresponding text. For example, "A" is the *Gong Men* and "B" *Qingzhen Dian*. I, too, will utilize this sequencing for references.

34. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 35-36. They actually refer to the feudal era. The Qianlong emperor selected the Diligence in State Affairs Hall for his official business venue, because his ancestors and father used a similarly named venue when they managed the country's affairs while in their summer residences. Therefore as suggested by the building's name, Qianlong worked assiduously, providing good example to others.

35. Ibid.

36. The only remnants left by invaders are a small pool and the strange rocks hill together with a few old trees. See He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 69.

37. Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 379.

38. Today a few ruins remain, found to the east of the still extant Many Clouds Pavilion (*Duoyun Ting*). See Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 36.

39. "AO" in Bouillard.

40. Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "Site Names and Their Meanings in the Garden of Solitary Enjoyment," *Journal of Garden History* 13, no. 4 (winter 1993): 202. The barge part of the Qianlong emperor's venue's name stems from the design of its architectural element: the front was

a hall, the rear a real house, and the two were joined in the middle by a variation of the Long Corridor. Although it was a building, yet it seemed a barge structure. It was named green because of the many trees providing shade. The color and structure, reflected in the water, resulting in the title Green Clouds Barge.

41. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 36.

42. Fu, *Rehe Xinggong* [5].

43. It is no longer extant. See *Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing* (*Bishu Shanzhuang's Thirty-six Scenes*) (Beijing: *Renmin meishu chubanshe*, 1983), 13.

44. According to Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 36, the Green Clouds Barge has been restored as a library.

45. "C" in Bouillard.

46. According to Peter Valder, *The Garden Plants of China* (Portland, OR: Timber Press, 1999), 120, Chinese considered the scent of orchids the most perfect among flowers since they permeated the air without one being fully conscious of them.

47. Fragrance here refers to a gentleman's virtues.

48. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 36-37. The venue is also called the *Zhong Gong* or Central Palace by the authors, though Bouillard reserves this term for the site in question. See Bouillard, map and text for "C," in *Hsiang Shan* [no. p.]. According to He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 69, the Fragrant Hill Hotel/Restaurant (*Xiang Shan Fandian*), which has recently replaced the original venue, houses some original stones and relics, but fails to convey the profound original spirit of this garden setting and the expectations of an eighteenth-century gentleman.

49. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 37.

50. "I" in Bouillard.

51. Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 379.

52. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 37.

53. Bouillard located another temple built by the Qianlong emperor to honor Tai Shan deities. Named the Precious Likeness Temple (*Bao Xiang Si*), it stood immediately south of the garden on Fragrant Hill in the early twentieth century. See Bouillard, *Péking et ses environs*, Sér. 8, *Les Temples autour du Hsiang Shan et de Pi Yun Sze* [Biyun Si] (Pékin: Albert Nachbaur, 1924), [n.p.].

54. "F" in Bouillard.

55. Ibid. Records of the imperial Summer Palace at Chengde reveal that the Kangxi emperor, also ordered a tame deer venue. According to Harrist, in "Site Names and Their Meanings," 202, the Tang poet Wang Wei alluded to the site near Benares where the Buddha attained enlightenment when Wang named a site in his garden "Deer Enclosure."

56. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 37-38.

57. Ibid., 38. According to *Beijing Gucha Mingsi* (*Ancient Temples in Beijing)*, 146, Qianlong's idea seems to have originated from a similar design problem he noticed on the west slope of Perpetual Peace Temple in the Beihai park near the Forbidden City (*Zijincheng*).

58. Ibid.

59. *Chuang Tzu*, trans. Arthur Waley, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1956), 7.

60. It is also known as Sweet Dew Temple (*Gan Lu Si*).

61. Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 379.

62. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 69. The temple was destroyed during the Boxer Uprising of 1900.

63. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 39.

64. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 69.

65. Eberhard, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 237-38.

66. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 39.

67. "M" in Bouillard.

68. Bouillard, *Hsiang Shan*, "M." In the 1920s he recorded only two groups of buildings, the belvedere, and an exterior inscription honoring Guanyin which read Universal Door to Perfect Accord (*Pumen Yuan Ying*). Two interior inscriptions, on the first and second floors, respectively, read Nature Causes Marvelous Results (*Xing Yin Miao Guo*) and Universal Manifestation of Heaven and Earth (*Puzhao Qian Kun*).

69. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 6.

70. Ibid., 39-40. According to the authors the Ming dynasty's Wanli emperor's inscription Arrival of Green Study on a horizontal board in a mountain cottage-style building (*shanzhai shi*), indicate a changed designation. Qianlong therefore chose to adopt the Ming appellation, but appreciated the original Jin site's purpose as well.

71. "L" in Bouillard.

72. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 146, 153. Sometimes blind fortune tellers played these bamboo tubes or drums, which are covered on one side by snake skins, by tapping them with rods. Perhaps they were calling this Immortal for magical assistance.

73. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 40.

74. "P" in Bouillard.

75. The number of venues actually within the Inner Wall or just outside it is a matter of debate between two sets of contemporary Chinese scholars of the Fragrant Hill, namely Li Zhiwen and Li Jiaoying, and the coauthors of the recent Garden of Perfect Brightness monograph, He Zhongyi and Zeng Jiaofen.

76. "P" in Bouillard.

77. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 29.

78. Chan, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*, xxx, 109.

79. According to Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 29, invaders totally destroyed the Full Light Temple by fire and few records or studies of it remain. Some say it lay to the northwest of the Fragrant Hill Temple and the nearby Mid-Mountain Pavilion (*Banshan Ting*).

80. Bouillard, *Hsiang Shan*. "P", n.p. The Library of Congress copy has this section. Cornell University copy of Bouillard is missing "P" and some adjoining sections. The author also carefully transcribed surviving inscriptions, including Brilliant Light of the Three Savors (*Guangming Sanwei*), but has the incorrect Chinese term for *wei* as he uses a sun radical instead of the mouth radical.

81. Ibid.

82. Not on Bouillard's map's names, but included in his explanatory text, as noted. It is the first of his thirteen Outer Scenes according to the Garden of Perfect Brightness scholars, He and Zeng, but Li and Li position it within the Inner Wall and within the Full Light Temple complex.

83. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 40.

84. Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction," 379.

85. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 40.

86. "P" in Bouillard.

87. See Ibid., 41. Although one can no longer enjoy the architectural elements at the site, it still holds interest today because of the seasonal landscapes provided by the thick forest of smoke trees below.

88. Ibid., 18. This slope now contains about 94,000 smoke trees.

89. Ibid., 15.

90. Ibid., 16-18. Fragrant Hill's red smoke tree leaves are often confused with similarly colored foliage from the more common maple or Chinese sweet gum (*Feng*) leaves. When the smoke tree's red leaves fall and fill the waters, the woody substance secretes a sizeable amount of yellow material utilized as a choice dye, especially reserved for the imperial dragon robes.

91. Ibid.

92. "T" in Bouillard.

93. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 73.

94. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 28.

95. Harrist, "Art and Identity in the Northern Song Dynasty," 156-57.

96. Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 28, 42. A new pavilion stands beside the large stone as well as several other inscriptions extolling this outstanding site.

97. "T" in Bouillard.

98. "W" in Bouillard.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid., 42-43. Not listed in Bouillard. Li text places it near Bouillard's "T."

101. "U" in Bouillard.

102. Ibid., 41-42.

103. "V" in Bouillard.

104. Ibid., 42. Author's translation. The architectural elements have now disappeared.

105. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 73. Later Chinese garden experts changed the original designation to the one selected by the Qianlong emperor when referring to the venue as one of Yanjing's Eight Scenic Views (*Yanjing bajing*) 燕京八景.

106. "AD" in Bouillard.

107. Ibid.

108. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 73.

109. Formerly believed to be Korean, this artist is now commonly believed to be Han Chinese from the Liaoning province. He even served in the Han section of the Yellow Banner of the Eight Banner Army. See *Zhonguo meishujia renming cidian* (Dictionary of names of Chinese artists), ed., Yu Jianhua (Shanghai: *Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe*, 1981), 351.

110. He and Zeng, *Yuanming Yuan*, 73; Li and Li, *Xiang Shan*, 23. Positioned on its ruins today stands the Jade Flower Mountain Villa (*Yuhua Shanzhuang*), an ideal place for enjoying Fragrant Hill's noted beauty. The new, centrally located villa offers access to natural springs and caves as well as halls and viewing platforms to enjoy the famed scenery though, of course, no temples.

111. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 21-22.

Afterword

We have examined how the Qianlong emperor during his sixty-year reign ordered the enhancement of the Garden of Perfect Brightness (*Yuanming Yuan*) imperial gardens—until it became a single unit, composed of the main garden and four satellites. It came to be known by the Chinese as the "three mountains and five gardens."

We have discovered the inherent difficulty of discovering the true spirit and intent of the original five gardens of the Garden of Perfect Brightness in the Qianlong era through an experience of its ruins or of the smaller and, I contend, flawed later replica of what is popularly called the Summer Palace. Understanding the original design of the main garden and each of its four satellites must come from recently released official and unofficial Qing dynasty records concerning them, including the 1756 Garden of Perfect Brightness Clothing Records. Written and pictorial records of Qianlong's six Southern Tours to inspect and view outstanding Chinese gardens, especially those south of the Yangzi River, further provide us with eighteenth-century sources of inspiration for his additions to his garden.

Working from these sources and walking again and again through the spaces of the entire Garden of Perfect Brightness, I began to learn to note the variations on the three essential elements of Chinese garden design: water, rocks or mountains, and garden architecture. A difficulty that arises in any design is maintaining harmony. Sometimes the creator's personal taste for rockeries causes him to go astray, as some critics judge Qianlong's Lion Garden in the annex to the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Other times, water elements seem to overwhelm. For example, the emperor greatly enlarged the Inherited Clarity Lake to the point of almost engulfing the front side of the third garden. But, in both cases, these seeming imbalances in an area, on review, have counterbalances: in the water's case by the augmented height of Longevity Hill, and in the rockeries' case by the emperor's selection of

multiple lion-shaped stones to greatly honor Manjusri, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom (depicted astride a lion), whom the Manchus venerated as their ancestor. Finally, the garden design must also take into consideration the dwellings and other structures of the owner. Their orientation to the environment must take into account the energy fields long studied by Chinese feng shui and spiritual masters to enhance one's well being.

A more difficult task is to discover the meaning and purpose of this complex imperial garden. Recently published archival sources reveal some of the emperor's motivations for each of the five Garden of Perfect Brightness gardens. For example, the name Qianlong selected for his annex to the main garden, translated Everlasting Spring Garden, indicates he intended it as a place to prepare for the afterlife. In contrast, his Garden of Harmonious Preservation, atop the Myriad Longevity Hill, was a Confucian-inspired testament of a filial son to his mother, a devout Buddhist. Underlying all five gardens is their common purpose: to represent the Qianlong emperor's eighteenth-century Chinese world, politically, religiously (Confucian, Daoist, Buddhist, Popular), and ethnically.

Besides noting the garden's basic landscape design elements (mountains/stones, water, and buildings) in variegated creative ways, the sources reveal the Garden of Perfect Brightness's usage; they became ceremonially significant from the emperor's ritual activities within it, especially in the main garden. The records also hint at why the court favored certain festivals, not necessarily for the emperor himself, but because the court ladies, especially the Qianlong emperor's mother, liked them.

Through these unadorned Clothing Records, the character of Qianlong emerges more accurately. The common image of the profligate who overspent in his garden endeavors, even to the demise of his empire, is replaced by a very conservative ruler, in the sense that the emperor was enormously concerned about Chinese culture, from which he drew inspiration and which he tried to preserve in its varied manifestations. For example, in the Garden of Perfect Brightness, he created individualized landscapes after appreciating notable garden masterpieces throughout his empire. For his venues, only the best natural materials sufficed, not only precious rocks, but also suitable plantings with symbolic meanings to enhance the spirit of a sector. Since the emperor preferred to live at the Garden of Perfect Brightness rather than at the Forbidden City in Beijing, architectural elements within this imperial garden ranged from opera houses to shopping malls for his entourage, from a Painting Academy to multiple libraries, from a European sector with spouting fountains to two simple teahouses near an austere Chan garden. For religious

purposes, the emperor's garden spaces contained elaborate temples for venerating Guanyin, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, or Tibetan Buddhist gods; simple shrines to the popular deity, the Dragon King; Daoist Isles of the Immortals and a Paradise garden, and halls and gardens to honor ancestors as taught by Confucians. All creatively sprang from the finest traditions of sacred and literati garden design and landscape architecture, drawn from the Han Chinese, Tibetan, popular, and even Western models in the Qianlong emperor's world. The Garden of Perfect Brightness was a world in miniature embodied as a living enterprise.

Glossary

(Those marked with * are titles of plates)
Anyou Gong 安祐宮 Palace of Peaceful Protection
bagou 巴溝 eight gullies
Bagua 八卦 Eight Trigrams
bai 百 one hundred
Bai Fo 拜佛 worship/pay homage to the Buddha
Banbi Qiao 半壁橋 Mid-Cliff Bridge
Banshan Tang 半山堂 Mid-Hill Hall
banshi 辦事 administer affairs
Baopu An 抱朴菴 Embracing Simplicity Thatched Hut
Baoxiang Si 寶相寺 Precious Likeness Temple, also translated Mutually Precious Temple
baoyueguang 寶月光 precious moonlight
Baoyun Ge 寶雲閣 Precious Clouds Pavilion, popularly known as the Bronze Pavilion
Beichang He 北長河 North Long River, also called *Yu He* 玉河 Jade River
Bei Hai 北海 North Lake
Beilou Men 北樓門 North Gate, also known as *Yuewu Men* 閱武門 Military Review Gate
Biao Zuo 裱作 Mounting [Paintings, etc.] Department.
Bieyou Dongtian 別有洞天 Another Heaven Cave
Binfeng Qiao 豳風橋 Bin-style Bridge (Bin was a Zhou state)
Bishu Shanzhuang 避暑山莊 Imperial Mountain Resort for Avoiding the Heat, Chengde
Bitong Shuyuan 碧桐书院 Green Phoenix Tree Library/Academy
Biyun An 碧雲菴 Azure Clouds Thatched Hut
Biyun Si 碧雲寺 Azure Clouds Temple
Canglang Ting 滄浪亭 Distant Green Pavilion, Suzhou
Cha Jing 茶經 the *Classic of Tea*
Chanchu Feng 蟾蜍蜂 Toad Peak
Changchun Qiao 長春橋 Everlasting Spring Bridge

Changchun Xiangong 長春仙宮 Everlasting Spring Immortals Palace
Changchun Yuan 暢春園 (Kangxi's) Garden of Joyful Spring
Changchun Yuan 長春園 (Qianlong's) Garden of Everlasting Spring
Chang E 嫦娥 also called *Heng E* 姮娥, trickster wife of Yi the Archer
Chang Lang 長廊 Long Corridor
Chang Shan 長山 Long Hill
changyu 常雩 prayer for rain (i.e. the normal summer sacrifice for rain)
chaofang 朝房 reception room for officials
Chaoyang Dong 朝陽洞 Greeting the Sun Cave
cha shu 茶書 Chinese art of tea
Chong'ai Xuan 崇靄軒 Splendor Study
Chunhua Xuan 淳化軒 Purified Study, also called *Hanjing Tang* 含經堂 Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall
Chunyu Xuan 春雨軒 Spring Rain Study
Chushan Guanyin 出山觀音 Guanyin When She Came Out of the Mountain
cibai 刺柏 Chinese juniper
Cifu Lou 慈福樓 Merciful Fortune Building
**Cining yan xi tu* 慈寧燕喜圖 Birthday Celebrations in Palace of Benevolent Peace
Ciyun Dian 慈雲殿 Merciful Cloud Hall
Ciyun Puhu 慈雲普護 Protection for the Merciful Buddha of the Clouds, also translated Gentle Clouds Cover All
Cuijiao Xuan 翠交軒 Transmission of Dark Jade Study
Cuiwei Ting 翠微亭 Slightly Green Pavilion
Dabaoen Yanshou Si 大報恩延壽寺 Temple of Immense Grace for Prolonging Life, also translated Temple of Gratitude for Extended Longevity
Dabei Pusa 大悲菩薩 Avalokitesvara (i.e. Guanyin)
Dabo Hu 大泊湖 Great Landing Lake
Dadu 大都 name for Beijing during the Yuan dynasty
Danhuai Tang 澹懷堂 Simple (or Humble) Memories Hall
Danning Xuan 澹寧軒 Quiet Repose Study
Danqing Ge 丹青閣 pavilion housing a religious painting in cinnabar and blue/black venerating Sakyamuni
Dao Jun 道君 one of the three immortals of Daoism, he controls the relations of yin and yang
Dashui Fa 大水法 Great Fountains
Daxiong Baodian 大雄寶殿 Great Buddha's Hall
dayu 大雩 special prayers for rain
Dehe Yuan 德和園 Garden of Virtue and Harmony
Deng Jie 燈節 Lantern Festival, also called *Yuanxiao Jie* 元宵節 Feast of the First Full Moon

Dengxin Yuan 澄心園 Garden to Calm the Mind.
Desheng Gai 得勝華蓋 Victory Canopy
Deshou Gong 德壽宮 Virtue and Longevity Palace, Hangzhou
ding 香鼎 tripod for incense burning
Diyi Liang 第一涼 The Coolest Place
Dongbei Men 東北門 Northeast Gate
Dongdi Zhubiao 洞地珠標 Cavernous Pearly Beacon
Dong Hai 東海 East Sea
Dong Men 東門 East Gate
Dongtian Shenchu 洞天深处 Deep Place of the Vault of Heaven
Dong Yuan 東園 East Garden
Dongyue Dadi 東岳大帝 a Tai Shan god
Dongyue Miao 東岳廟 East Yue Temple
**Duanqiao Canxue* 斷橋殘雪 Broken Bridge with Snow Residue
Duanwu Jie 端午節 Dragon Boat Festival
Dui'ou Fang 對鷗舫 Face the Gull Barge
Duluo Yuan 獨樂園 Garden of Solitary Joy, a garden in Jiangnan, built by Sima Guang after he retired
Duobao Ta 多寶塔 Multiple Treasures Pagoda
Duojing Lou 多景樓 Multiple Scenes Building
Duoyun Ting 多雲亭 Multiple Clouds Pavilion
Erlong Zha 二龍閘 Two Dragons Watergate
Faguang Wuliang 法光無量 Emanating Glory Without Measure
Fahui Si 法慧寺 Wisdom of the Buddhist Law Temple
Falang Zuo 琺瑯作 Enamel Department
Fang He 方河 Rectangular Lake
Fanghu Shengjing 方壺勝境 Square Pots Imperial Residence
feng 楓 maple tree (Chinese sweet gum)
Fenghuang Qingting 風篁清聽 Hearing the Rustling Bamboo
Fenxiang Lou 焚香樓 Burning Incense Building
Foxiang Ge 佛香閣 Fragrance of the Buddha Pavilion
fuguihua 富貴花 flower of wealth and rank (a pun on the word "bat" pronounced *fu* which is a symbol of happiness)
Fu Hai 福海 Sea of Fortune
Fumo Dong 伏魔洞 Demon's Submission Cave
furong 芙蓉 hibiscus
Furong Ping 芙蓉坪 Hibiscus Plain
Furong Qingzhao 芙蓉晴照 Brilliant Hibiscus
Furong Shi 芙蓉石 Hibiscus Stone
Furong Tang 芙蓉堂 Hibiscus Hall
Fuyou Daqian 福佑大千 Great and Multiple Protective Blessings
Gaichun Yuan 賅春園 Garden of Enveloping Spring
Gaimiao Zhai 該妙齋 Sublime Studio
Gaotu Jingshe 皋塗精舍 Heaven and Earth Temple

Geyun Zhong 隔雲鐘 Cloud Partition Bell
Gongcheng Chu 工程處 Construction Office
**Gongfei Huachong Tu* 宮妃話寵圖 Imperial Concubines Chatting about Favors of the Emperor in Courtyard with Bonsai
Gong Men 拱門 Palace Gatehouse
Gouxu Xuan 構虛軒 Constructing Emptiness Study
Guandi 關帝 the god of war, also called Guanyu
Guanfeng Xie 觀豐榭 Viewing Abundance Pavilion
Guangming Sanwei 光明三味 Brilliant Light of the Three Savors
Guangyu Gong 光裕宮 Brilliant Abundance Palace
Guanjing 觀景 Viewing Scenery
Guanshuifa Zhengmian 觀水法正面 Viewing the True Aspect of the Water Fountains
Guanyin 觀音 a popular goddess, perceiver of sounds (Sanskrit: Avalokitesvara)
Guanyin Dong 觀音洞 Guanyin Caves
Guanyin Ge 觀音閣 Guanyin Pavilion
Guanyuyue 觀魚躍 Watch Fish Leap
Gugong 故宮 Forbidden City (see *Zijincheng*)
Guhua Yansi 古華嚴寺 Ancient Glorious and Majestic Temple
Guojie Qiao 過街橋 Overpass Bridge
**Gu-su Fan Hua Tu* 姑蘇繁華圖 Prosperous Suzhou
Guxiang Shanzhuang 故鄉山莊 Hometown Mountain Resort
Haiyan Tang 海宴堂 Peaceful Seas Hall
Haiyue Kaijin 海嶽開襟 Mind-opening Isle
haizhexing shanzi 海螫形山子 jellyfish-shaped mountain offspring
Hanbi Lou 含碧樓 Storing the Blue Jade Building
Hanchun Shi 含醇室 Perfect Taste House (Wine Storage Chamber)
Hanjing Tang 含經堂 Preservation of the Classics (Sutras) Hall (also called *Chunhua Xuan* 淳化軒 Purified Study)
Hanwanquan Dian 涵萬泉殿 Containing Ten Thousand Springs Hall
Hanxu Tang 涵虛堂 Containing Emptiness Hall
Hanyi Zhai 涵漪齋 Containing Waves Studio
Hao He 濠河 Trench River
Haotian shangdi 昊天上帝 Almighty Heaven, a Daoist deity
he 荷 lotus, also called *hehua* 荷花
he 和 harmony
He An 壑庵 Ravine Hut
He An Zhai 鶴安齋 Crane's Repose Studio
Heilong Tan 黑龍潭 Black Dragon Pool
Heilong Tan Si 黑龍潭寺 Black Dragon Pool Temple
heng 橫 laterally
Hengxiu Guan 橫秀館 Beautiful Extended Guest House
Ho Hu 後湖 Back Lake

Hongci Yonghu 鴻慈永祜 Vast Compassion and Eternal Blessing
Hongguang Si 洪光寺 Full Light Temple
**Hongli guan yue tu* 弘曆觀月圖 Qianlong admiring the moon
Hong Lou Meng 紅樓夢 *Dream of the Red Chamber*
Hong Qiao 虹橋 Rainbow Bridge
hou 吼 a mythological animal
Hou Yi 后羿 Yi the Archer
hua biao 華表 cloud pillar
Huachan Shi 畫禪室 Chan/Zen Buddhist House
Huacheng Ge 花承閣 Blossom Bestowals Pavilion
Huafang Zhai 畫舫齋 Pleasure Boat Studio
Huaiqingfen 懷清芬 Embrace the Pure Fragrance of Flowers
Huanghe Lou 黃鶴楼 Yellow Crane Tower, Hubei
huanghui 皇會 imperial groups
Huanglu 黃櫨 Smoke Trees
Huangtian Shangdi 皇天上帝 High God of Heaven
Huayan Dong 華嚴洞 Glorious Majestic/Amplified Magnificence Cave
Huayan Si 華嚴寺 Glorious Majestic/Amplified Magnificence Temple
Huayuan Chu 畫院處 Painting Academy Office
Huazhuang Haishi Ta 華莊海石塔 Sino-Tibetan Union Tower also called Stone Pagoda by the Beautiful Village Sea
huban 笏板 a tablet used by a courtier
Huguang Shanse Lou 湖光山色樓 Lake and Mountain Scenes Building
Huifang Shuyuan 彙芳書院 Gathering Fragrance Library/Academy
Huifang Tang 繪芳堂 Depict Fragrance Hall
Huiji Ciyou Longshen 惠濟慈佑龍神 Merciful and Protecting Dragon God
Hui Quan 惠泉 Benevolent Spring, also Wisdom Spring, Wuxi
Hui Shan 慧山 Wisdom Mountain
Huishan Yuan 惠山園 Garden of the Benevolent Mountain
Hushan Tang 湖山堂 Lake Mountain Hall
Jianxin Zhai 鑒心齋 Seeing the Mind Studio
Jian Yuan 鑒園 Garden of Reflection
Jiao Chang 校場 Drill Field
jiashan yuan 假山園 artificial mountain garden
Jichang 寄暢 Pleasure Garden, Wuxi
jiezhou 芥舟 tiny or mustard plant boat
Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan 芥子園畫傳 *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*
Jingang Baozuo Ta 金剛寶座塔 Diamond Throne Pagoda
Jingang Shan 金剛山 Diamond Mountain
Jingci Si 淨慈寺 Pure Kindness Temple
Jingming Yuan 靜明園 Garden of Tranquil Luminescence
Jing Qiao 鏡橋 Mirror Bridge

Jingxin Zhai 靜心齋 Quiet Heart Studio
Jingxu Zhai 靜虛齋 Quiet Empty Studio
Jingyi Yuan 靜宜園 Garden of Quiet Delight
**Jingyi Yuan Ershiba Jing Tu* 靜宜園二十八景圖 Garden of Quiet Delight's twenty-eight Scenic Views
Jinshan Men 進膳門 Presentation of Nourishment Gate
jinshi 進士 presented scholars
Jin Yuan 禁苑 Forbidden Parkland
Jiqing Xuan 霽清軒 Clearing Frost Study
Jishilu 記事 錄 Remember Things Record
Jiulu 舊路 Old Road
Jiutian Xuannu 九天玄女 Mysterious Lady of the Ninth Heaven, a Daoist deity
Jiuzhou Qingyan 九州清晏 Nine Peaceful Continents
Jurui Tu 聚瑞圖 Assembled Auspicious Pictures
Kaihua Xian Fo 開花獻佛 Opening a Flower To Discover a Buddha
Kaijin Zhai 開錦齋 Source of Elegance Studio
Kanyun Qishi 看雲起時 Glimpsing the Moment Clouds Rise
Kuaixue Tang 快雪堂 Snow Flurries Hall
Kunming Chi 昆明池 Inherited Clarity Pool also called
Kunming Hu 昆明湖 Inherited Clarity Lake
Kuoran Dugong 廓然大公 Grand Duke who stands aloof
Laiqing Xuan 來青軒 Arrival of Green Study
Lan Ting 蘭亭 Orchid Pavilion; also a garden in Zhejiang
Laozi 老子 the reputed founder of Daoism, one of its three immortals
Lengqie Dong 楞伽洞, Lanka cave, a sacred place in southeast Sri Lanka
lingjiao 菱角 water caltrop
Linguang Danbi 林光澹碧 Forest Light of Tranquil Emerald
Lingxiang Pan 菱香泮 Fragrant Water Caltrops Pool
lingzhi 靈芝 glossy mushroom, the sacred fungus
Lingzhi Cao 靈芝草 Plant of Longevity or the Sacred Fungus
Lishuang Gao 唳霜皋 Cry of Cranes over Frosty Marsh
liuli 琉璃 glazed or enamel tile
Liuli Ta 琉璃塔 glazed or enamel-tiled pagoda
Liuxiang Zhu 榴香渚 Fragrant Pomegranates Islet
Liuxiang Zhu 流香渚 Fragrant Flowing Islet
Liyun Ting 梨雲亭 Pear Clouds Pavilion
Lizhu Lou 麗矚樓 Beautiful Views Building
Long Wang 龍王 Dragon King
Longwang Miao 龍王廟 Dragon King Temple
Lu Dongbin 呂洞賓, one of the Eight Daoist Immortals also called *Lu Zu* 呂祖
Lü Gong 呂宮 Lü Temple
Lugou Qiao 盧溝橋 Reed Gully Bridge also known as Marco Polo

Bridge, Beijing
Luohan 羅漢 Arhats
Luohan Tang 羅漢堂 Arhats Hall
Lu Tong 盧同 (仝) Reed Bridge
Lüyun Fang 綠雲舫 Green Clouds Barge
Lu Zu 呂祖, one of the Eight Taoist Immortals also called
Lu Dongbin Maimai Jie 買賣街 Shopping Street
Mazu 媽祖 a Chinese goddess
mengchun 孟春 fourth lunar month, the first month of spring
Miaogao Shi 妙高室 Wondrous High House
Miaogao Si 妙高寺 Wondrous High Temple
Miaogao Ta 妙高塔 Wondrous High Pagoda
Miaoguan Chazhi Dian 妙觀察智殿 Examining the Wonders of Wisdom Hall
Mile Fo 彌勒佛 Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future
Miluo He 汨羅河 Miluo River
Mingchun Men 明春門 Bright Spring Gate
Mufurong 木芙蓉 Confederate or Cotton Rose, although it is a hibiscus
*Mulan*木 蘭 magnolia [See Chapter 1, Note 84: Rawski thinks Mulan (the hunting park) is from the Manchu *muran* (to call deer)]
Nacui Ting 納翠亭 Enjoy Kingfishers Pavilion
Najing Tang 納景堂 Prospect Hall
Nanchang He 南長河 South Long River
Nangong Men 南宮門 South Palace Gate
Nan Hai 南海 South Lake
Nanhai Putuo Shan 南海普陀山 South Sea Buddha Mountain
nanmu 楠木 wood of a rare laurel tree, a precious hardwood
Nanmu Dian 楠木殿 Precious Hardwood Hall
Nanxun 南巡 Southern Tours
Nanxun Shengdian 南巡盛典 Official Account of the Southern Tours
Neiwu Fu 內務府 Imperial Household Department
Neiyuan 內垣 Inner Wall
Nengren Dian 能仁殿 Enabling Kindness Hall
Ning'ao Shan 擰鰲山 Pinched (or Twisted) Sea Turtle Mountain
pailou 牌樓 ceremonial arch
Paiyun Dian 排雲殿 Dispels the Clouds Hall
Paobing Ying 砲兵營 Firearms Battalion
Peiwen Yunfu 佩文韻府 Rhyme Treasury of the Admiring Literature [Studio]
Peiwen Zhai 佩文齋 Scholarly Honor Studio
Peiwenzhai Shuhuapu 佩文齋書畫譜 Guide to Calligraphy and Painting from the *Peiwen* Studio
Pengdao Yaotai 蓬島瑤台 Immortals' Abode on Penglai Isle
Penglai 蓬萊 fabled land of the immortals in Chinese mythology

Pilu Fo 毘盧佛 Vairocana, the Buddha of Light
Poluo Shu 婆羅樹 holly tree
Poluo Shu Ge 婆羅樹閣 Song of the Holly Tree Pavilion
Pumen Yuanying 普門圓應 Universal Door to Perfect Purpose
Puning Si 普寧寺 Universal Peace (or Tranquility) Temple
Puxian 普賢 a Buddhist god (Sanskrit: Samantabhadra)
Puxiang Jie 普香界 World of the Buddha's Fragrance Street
Puzhao Qiankun 普照乾坤 Universal Manifestation of Heaven and Earth
Qianshou Qianyan Guanyin 千手千眼觀音 Thousand-arm and Thousand-eye Guanyin
Qian Yuan 前園 Front Garden
Qian Yuan 蒨園 Garden of Luxurious Growth
Qianyun Lou 攓雲樓 Touching the Clouds Building
Qichun Yuan 綺春園 Garden of Blossoming Spring
Qigong Zha 七拱閘 Seven-Arched Floodgate/Sluice
Qingbi Ge 清閟閣 Pure Secluded Pavilion
Qingdi 清帝 Brilliant Emperor
Qing He 清河 Clear River
Qingjing Di 清淨地 Quiet, Clean Place
Qingjing Fazhi Dian 清淨法智殿 Clear Wisdom Law Hall
Qingke Xuan 清可軒 Purity Study
*Qinglian Duo*連連朵 Green Lotus or Water Lily Flower
Qingliang Chanku 清涼禪窟 Clear Cool Chan Place
Qinglong Qiao 青龍橋 Blue Dragon Bridge
Qingming Jie 清明節Pure Brightness [Memorial Day] Festival
Qingming Shanghetu 清明上河圖 Going Up the River at Qingming [Memorial Day]
qing weiliao 青未了 unending youth
Qingyin 清音 Pure Sound
Qingyi Yuan 清漪園 Garden of the Clear Ripples
Qintai Zi 琴臺字 Zither PlatformWord
Qinzheng Dian 勤正殿 Diligence in State Affairs Hall
Qiwang Xuan 綺望軒 Fine Prospect Study
Qixiang Gong 啟祥宮 Auspicious Palace, name was changed to
Taiji Dian 太極殿 Supreme Ultimate Hall by the Empress Dowager Cixi
Qixing Tai 七星台 Seven Stars Platform
Qiyue Yai 栖月崖 Moon Cliff Perch or Moonlight Cliff
Qiyun Lou 栖雲樓 Dwell in the Clouds Building
Quanshui Xinggong 泉水行宮 Temporary Imperial Palace at Fountain Park
Quanzong Miao 泉宗廟 Source of the Springs Temple *que/qiao* 雀 a vermillion sparrow
qushui liushang 曲水流觴 winding winecup stream

**Rehe Wen Yuan Shizi Lin Tushi*) 熱河文園獅子林圖詩 Rehe's Literary Garden Lion Grove in paintings and verses
Renshou Dian 仁壽殿 Benevolence and Longevity Hall
Renyu Gong 仁育宮 Virtue and Cultivation Palace
Rugu Hanjin 茹古涵今 Ancient and Modern Library
ruyi 如意 Chinese scepter
Ruyi Guan 如意館 Imperial Painting Academy
Ruyi Men 如意門 Chinese Scepter Gate
Ruyi Zhou 如意洲 Chinese Scepter Island
Ru Yuan 如園 According to Wishes Garden or Garden of Ease
Sailong Zhou 賽龍舟Dragon Boat Race
Sanbao 三寶 Three Precious Things: the Buddha of the Past, Bhaisajya; Sakyamuni Buddha, the Buddha of the present; and Maitreya, the Buddha to Come
Sandashi 三大士 Three Great Beings
Sanqing 三清 Three Pure Ones of the Taoist trinity
Sanshan Wuyuan 三山五園 Three Mountains and Five Gardens
Sanshi Fo 三世佛 Three Generations Buddhas
Santan Yinyue 三潭印月 Reflecting the Moon on Three Pools
Senyu Hu 森玉笏 Tablet of the Jade Forest also called the Towering Jade Tablet
Shangao Shuichang 山高水長 Tall Mountain, Long River
*Shang Lin*上林 Supreme Forest
Shan Men 山門 Mountain Gate
Shanse Huguang Gongyi Lou 山色湖光共一楼 Lake and Mountain Scenes Building
Shan shui shang, jiang shui zhong, jing shui xia 山水上江水中井水下 Mountain spring water is best, river water is next best, well water is the poorest.
Shanxian Si 善現寺 Excellent Visage Temple
shanxing 山杏 mountain apricot, i.e. the gingko tree, see also *yinxing*
shanzhai shi 山齋式 mountain cottage-style building
Shaojing Xuan 韶景軒 Harmonious Scenery Study
shaoyao 芍葯 herbaceous peonies
Shengqiu Ting 生秋亭 New Autumn Pavilion
Shengyuan Si 聖緣寺 Holy Destiny Temple
Shenliu Dushu Tang 深柳讀書堂 Deep Inside Weeping Willows Reading Hall
Shenxiu Siyong 慎修思永 Care for Cultivation, Thought for Eternity
Shewei Cheng 舍衛城 Sravasti Complex
Shierzhi 十二枝 Twelve Branches
Shi Jing 詩經 *Classic of Poetry*
Shiqi Kong Qiao 十七孔橋 Seventeen-arch Marble Bridge
Shizhang Ting 十長亭 Ten-foot Stone Pavilion

Shizi Lin 獅子林 Lion Grove
Shizi Ting 十字亭 Cross-shaped or Character for the Number Ten Pavilion
Shouci Qingliang Ku 受此清涼窟 Enjoy This Clear Cool Cave
Shou Shan 壽山 Longevity Hill, also called *Wanshou*
Shan Shoushan Lou 受山樓 Receive Mountain Building
Shoxi Hu 瘦西湖 Narrow West Lake, Yangzhou
Shuaijiao Ying 摔跤營 Wrestling Battalion
Shuanghe Zhai 雙鶴齋 Double Crane Studio
Shuhua Fang 書畫舫 Books and Painting Barge House
shuilian dong 水簾洞 water curtain caves, i.e. ones with dripping water
Shuiquan Yuan 水泉園 Fountain Garden
Shuiyue Dong 水月洞 Water and Moon Grotto
*Sidabuzhou*四大部洲 Four Great Regions, i.e. the Four Continents (Sanskrit: Caturdvipa)
Sidabuzhou Fodian 四大部洲佛殿 Four Great Regions Hall, i.e. the Four Continents Hall (Sanskrit: Caturdvipa)
Sihe Zhai 四合齋 Four Harmonies Studio
Siku Quanshu 四庫全書 Complete Library of Four Branches of Literature or Four Treasuries
simian ting 四面亭 four-sided pavilions
Siyong Zhai 思永齋 Eternal Thought Studio
Songfeng Ge 松風閣 Wind through the Pines Pavilion
Song Shan 嵩山 Mount Song, the highest and central of the Five Sacred Mountains
Song Tang 松堂 Pine Hall
Su Di 蘇堤 Su [Dongpo] Causeway, West Lake, Hangzhou Causeway, West Lake, Hangzhou
sufu 素服 plain clothes
Sui'an Shi 隨安室 Pursue Peace Room
Suyao Chi 齋 塑瑤池 Recall Precious Jade Pond
Tai Hu 太湖 literally, Lake Tai, west of Suzhou, the name is given to unusually shaped rocks with large holes, called spirit rocks, which largely come from this lake
Taiji Dian 太極殿 Supreme Ultimate Hall, name given by Empress Dowager Cixi to the *Qixiang Gong* 啟祥宮 Auspicious Palace
taimei 苔梅 plum tree
Taixu Shi 太虛室 Great Void Room
Taiye Chi 太液池 Great Effluent Pool
Tanhua Ge 曇花閣 Night Blooming Cereus Pavilion
Tantan Dangdang 坦坦蕩蕩 Vast and Tranquil Ponds
Taohua Gou 桃花溝 Peach Blossom Gully
Tiangong 天工 Heaven's work
Tianshang Shengmu 天上聖母 Holy Mother of Heaven

Tianshang tiantang dixia Su Hang 天上天堂 地下蘇杭 Above in Heaven is the celestial hall, below on Earth are Suzhou and Hangzhou
Tian Tan 天壇 Temple of Heaven
Tian Wang 天王 King of Heaven
Tianwang Dian 天王殿 Heavenly King Hall
Tianxia 天下 All Under Heaven
Tianxia Penjing 天下盆景 World in Miniature Garden
Tianyi Ge 天一閣 First Pavilion of Heaven
Tingfa Song 聽法松 Listen to the Law Pines
Tingli Guan 聽鸝館 Listening to Orioles Mansion
Tingsong An 聽松菴 Listening to the Pines Hut
tongban 銅板 engravings
Tongle Yuan 同樂園 Garden of Shared Joy
Tongyin Shuwu 桐蔭書屋 Shade of the Chinese Parasol Tree Reading Room
Tongyin Xuan 恫蔭軒 Study the Chinese Parasol Tree Study
Tuixing Zhai 退省齋 Withdraw and Reflect Studio
tuochuang 拖床 sleigh
Wanchun Yuan 萬春園 Garden of Ten Thousand Springs
Wanfang Anhe 萬方安和 Ten Thousands Directions Peace or Region of International Peace
*Wangshi Yuan*網 師 園 Master of the Net Garden
Wang Yingzhou 望瀛洲 Looking toward Yingzhou
Wang Yue 望岳 Looking toward the High Mountain, a poem by Du Fu
*Wanhuazhen*萬花陳 Labyrinth
Wanquan He 萬泉河 Ten Thousand Springs River
Wanquan Zhuang 萬泉莊 Ten Thousand Springs Village
Wanshou Shan 萬壽山 Myriad Longevity Hill, also called *Shou Shan*
Wanyuan Ge 萬源閣 Ten Thousand Source Pavilion
* *Wei hu huo lu* 威弧獲鹿 Getting Deer with Strong Arrows
Weilu Xuan 惟綠軒 Only Green Study
wen 文 culture
Weng Shan 瓮山 Jar Hill
Wenshu Pusa 文殊菩薩 Manjusri, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom
Wenyuan Ge 文源閣 Source of Literature Pavilion
W *enyuan Shizi Lin* 文園獅子林 Literary Garden Lion Grove
Wofo Si 臥佛寺 Reclining Buddha Temple
wu 武 military
Wudian An 吳典岸 [State of] Wu's Model for Waterside Garden
wudu hebao 五毒荷包 five-poison pouch
Wufang Ge 五方閣 Five Square Pavilions
Wuliang Dian 無樑殿 Beamless Hall, also called Yuzhen Bao Dian 玉宸寶殿 Precious Hall of the Daoist Chief
wusi liulizhuan wa ta 五色琉璃磚瓦塔) tiled pagoda of five-colored

glass bricks
wutong 梧桐 Chinese parasol tree
Wuxing 五行 Five Active Principles of Nature
Xiabiao Deng 霞標磴 Rocky Steps Mark Rosy Scenes
Xianda Yuanjing 現大圓鏡 Contemporary Great Round Mirror
Xianfa Shan 線法山 Perspective Hill
Xianghai Zhenyuan 香海真源 Fragrant Sea of the True Source
Xianglu Feng 香爐峰 Incense Burner Peak
Xiang Shan 香山 Fragrant Hill
Xiangshan Fandian 香山飯店 Fragrant Hill Hotel
Xiangshan Si 香山寺 Fragrant Hill Temple
Xiangwu Ku 香霧窟 Fragrant Fog Cave/Den
Xiangyan Jing Cheng 香岩淨城 Fragrant Hill's Clean/Complete City
Xiangyan Shi 香岩室 Fragrant Hill Room
Xiangyan Shi 香嵓室 Fragrant Cliff Room
Xiangyan Si 香嚴寺 Fragrant Majestic Temple
Xiangyan Zongyin Zhige 香巖宗印之閣 Buddha Confirming His Doctrine Pavilion
Xianren Tai 仙人台 Immortals Platform
Xiaodong Men 小東門 Small East Gate
Xiaojia He 蕭家河 Xiao Family River
Xiao Pubu 小瀑布 Small Waterfall
Xia'ou Ting 狎鷗亭 Get Close to Gulls Pavilion
Xiaoyoutian Yuan 小有天園 Garden of a Little Bit of Heaven or Garden of a Small Paradise
Xiaqi Lou 霞起樓 Unfolding Dawn Cloud Building
Xiaxue Qinyin 峽雪琴音 Zither's Tone on Snowy Peak
Xichun Dong 熙春洞 Springtime Cave
Xiejing Lou 擷景樓 Pluck Scenery Building
Xiemeng Jianyi Jixincha 謝孟諫議寄新茶 Thanks to Imperial Censor Meng for Sending His Gift of Freshly Picked Tea
Xieqi Qu 諧奇趣 Delights of Harmony Palace
Xiequ Yuan 諧趣園 Garden of Harmonious Pleasures
xiezhi 獬豸 a mythical animal
Xi Hu 西湖 West Lake, Hangzhou
Xihua Yuan 西花園 West Garden
xing gong 行宮 a temporary imperial palace
Xingyin Miaoguo 性因妙果 Nature Causes Marvelous Results
Xi Shan 西山 West Hills
Xi Shan Qingxue 西山晴雪 Western Hills Shimmering in Snow
Xiuqing Cun 秀清村 Beautiful and Clear Village
Xiwang Mu 西王母 Queen Mother of the West
Xiyang E 唏陽阿 Brilliant Rising Sun
*Xiyang Lou*西洋樓 European Sector Building

Xizhi Men 西直門 West Direct Gate
Xuanqiu Lin 絢秋林 Splendid Autumn Woods
Xuan Tuhua Yuan 宣圖畫院 Academy of Exhibited Illustrations and Paintings
Xuanwu 玄武 Dark Warrior or *Zhenwu*, a Daoist god and ancient symbol of the north
Xuegu Tang 學古堂 Study the Ancients Hall
Xulang Zhai 虛郎齋 Humble Gentleman's Studio
Xumi Fuzhou Zhimiao 須彌福壽之廟 Sumeru Happiness and Longevity, Tibetan-style Temple, Chengde
Xumi Lingjing 須彌靈鏡 Sumeru Realm
Xunhuan wuyi jiantian xin 循環無己見天心 Circulate until you forget yourself, then you can comprehend Heaven's meaning
Xunlu Po 馴鹿坡 Tame Deer Slope
Xu Yang 徐揚 a scroll of Suzhou
Xu Yuan 煦園 Warm Garden, Nanjing
Yangjing Bajing 燕京八景 Yanjing's Eight Scenic Views
Yangxindian Zhuluchu 養心殿鑄爐處 Mint at the Cultivate the Heart Hall
Yanjian Gongqing Bailiao 延見公卿百僚 Receive and See Princes, Officials, and a Hundred High Officials
Yanjie Kuan 眼界寬 Eyes Open to the World
Yanjing Hu 眼鏡湖 Spectacles Lake
Yanjing Lou 延景樓 Extended (or Raised) Prospect Building
Yanqing Tang 延青堂 Enhanced Verdance Hall
Yaoyue Men 邀月門 Greet the Moon Gate
Yichi Sanshan 一池三山 One Pool and Three Hills
Yihe Yuan 頤和園 Garden of Nurtured Harmony, latter called Summer Palace
Yi Jing 易经 Book of Changes
Yingjing Hu 影鏡湖 Shadow Mirror Lake
Yingluo An/Yan 瓔珞岩 Encircling Gem Cliff
Yingqing Zhai 映清齋 Reflecting Clarity Studio
Yinhui Cheng 寅輝城 Early Morning Light City
yinxing 銀杏 silver apricot, i.e. the ginko tree see also *shanxing*
Yisi Tang 益思堂 Beneficial Consideration Hall
Yi Yuan 藝園 Garden of the Arts, Hangzhou
Yong'an Si 永安寺 Perpetual Peace Temple
Yongding He 永定河 Eternally Steady River
Yongri Tang 永日堂 Eternal Day Hall
youxing 遊行 in-motion viewing
yu 魚 fish
yu 餘 abundance
Yuan Dian 圓殿 Round Hall

Yuanguang Men 圓光門 Perfect Light Gate
Yuanjian Leihan 淵鑒類函 Categorized boxes of the *Yuanjian* Studio
Yuanjian Zhai 淵鑑齋 Mirror of Literature Studio
Yuanjing Si 圓靜寺 Perfect Silence Temple
Yuanming Yuan 圓明園 Garden of Perfect Brightness
Yuanxiao Jie 元宵節 Feast of the First Full Moon, also called *Deng Jie* 燈節 Lantern Festival
Yuanyang Ting 鴛鴦亭 Mandarin Duck Pavilion
Yuanye 園冶 *The Craft of Gardens*
Yuanying Guan 遠瀛觀 Distant Continents Lodge
Yudai Qiao 玉帶橋 Jade Belt Bridge
Yuebai Men 約白門 White Gate of Agreement
Yue He 月河 Moon River
Yuewu Men 閱武門 Military Review Gate also known as *Beilou Men* 北樓門 North Gate
Yuezong Miao 岳宗廟 Yue Fei Temple
Yufeng Ta 玉峰塔 Jade Peak Pagoda
Yufengta Ying 玉峰塔影 Shadow of the Jade Peak Pagoda
yugu 魚鼓 fish drums, instruments emblematic of the reclusive Zhang Guolao 張果老, the second of the Taoist Eight Immortals
Yu He 玉河 Jade River, also called *Beichang He* 北長河 North Long River
Yuhuang Dadi 玉皇大帝 Jade Emperor
Yuhua Shanzhuang 玉華山莊 Jade Flower Mountain Villa
Yuhua Si 玉華寺 Jade Flower Temple
Yuhua Xiu 玉華岫 Jade Flower Peak
Yulan Tang 郁蘭堂 Exquisite Orchid Hall
Yule Guodi 魚樂國也 If the fish are happy, so is the country
Yulinglong Guan 玉玲瓏館 Skillfully-worked Jade House
Yulinglong Shi 玉玲瓏石 Skillfully-worked Jade Rock
Yulinglong Zhai 玉玲瓏齋 Skillfully-worked Jade Studio
Yuli Quan 玉醴泉 Jade Fountain of Life
Yun Duo 雲朵 Cloud Flowers
Yunfan Yuefang 雲颿月舫 Cloud Sail Moon Barge
Yunhui Si 雲繪寺 Gathering Clouds Temple
Yunhui Yuyu 雲輝玉宇 Brilliant Clouds and Jade Eaves
Yunlin Shishi 雲林石室 Cloud Forest Stone House
Yunwai Zhongsheng 雲外鐘聲 Sound of the Bell Beyond the Clouds
Yunzhen Zhai 蘊真齋 Gathered Truths Studio
Yuqin Xia 玉琴峽 Jade Zither Gorge
Yuquan Baotu Tianxia Diyi Quan 玉泉趵突天下第一泉 Gushing and Sparkling Jade Spring, the Foremost Spring under Heaven
Yuquan Hu 玉泉湖 Jade Spring Lake
Yuquan Huahong 玉泉華虹 Jade Springs Brilliant Rainbow

Yuquan Shan 玉泉山 Jade Spring Hill
Yuquan Yuyue 魚泉魚躍 Jade Spring, Fishes Leaping
Yuru Quan 玉乳泉 Jade Milk Spring
yusi 雩祀 sacrifice for rain
yutang fugui 玉堂富貴 wealth and rank in the jade hall
Yuxiang Guan 雨香館 Fragrant Rains Mansion
Yu Yuan 預園 Garden of Preparation, Shanghai
Yuyue Yuanfei 魚躍鳶飛 Fish Jump, Kites (i.e. the birds) Fly
Yuzao Xuan 魚藻軒 Fish and Aquatic Plants Study
Yuzhen Baodian 玉真寶殿 Precious Hall of the Daoist Chief, Yuzhen, also called *Wuliang Dian* 無樑殿 Beamless Hall
Zaojun 灶君 Stove God also called Kitchen God
Zao Yuan 藻園 Garden of Elegance
Zaoyuan Men 藻園門 Garden of Elegance Gate, also called Gate of the Aquatic Park
Zelan Tang 澤蘭堂 Marshy Orchid, i.e., bugleweed, Hall
Zhakou Men 閘口門 Spout Gate
Zhang Guolao 張果老 the second of the Eight Daoist Immortals
Zhan Yuan 瞻園 Garden of the Respectful Gaze, Nanjing, also the latter name of the *Xihua*
Zhaoguang Ting 照曠亭 Shining Spacious Pavilion
Zhaohe Ting 招鶴庭 Beckon the Cranes Hall
Zhao Miao 昭廟 Luminous Temple, formal name: *Zongjing Dazhaozhi Miao* 宗鏡大 昭之廟 Mirror of Ancestors' Great Glory Temple
Zhengda Guangming 正大光明 Great Light of Righteousness (an audience hall)
Zhengning Tang 正凝堂 Fixed Righteousness Hall
Zhengyi Mingdao 正谊明道 True Friendship Through the Bright Way
Zhenwu Miao 真武廟 Perfected Warrior Temple, see also *Xuanwu* 玄武 Dark Warrior, a Daoist god and ancient symbol of the north
Zhihui Hai 智慧海 Sea of Wisdom Temple
Zhile Hao 知樂濠 Know Happiness Gully
Zhiyu Qiao 知魚橋 Know the Fish Bridge
Zhongcui Ting 重卒亭 Important Gathering Pavilion
Zhongcui Yan 重翠崦 Dense Green Mountain, Gansu
Zhong Gong 中宮 Central Palace
Zhong Hai 中海 Central Lake
Zhongle Ting 眾樂亭 Numerous Joys Pavilion
Zhongqiu Jie 中秋節 Mid-autumn Festival
Zhongshan Gongyuan 中山公園 Sun Yatsen Garden
Zhongtingzi Men 中亭字門 northwest gate of the Garden of Quiet Delight
zhong xing gong yue 眾星拱月 a multitude of stars encircling the moon
Zhongyu Lu 中御路 Central Imperial Lane

Zhuanlun Cang 轉論藏 Revolving Archives
Zhuanxiang Fan 轉香帆 Revolving Fragrant Sails
Zhufang Lou 佇芳樓 Stored Fragrance Building
Zhulu 竹鑪 Bamboo Jar
Zhulu Shanfang 竹鑪山坊 Mountain Cottage of the Bamboo Jar
Zijincheng 紫禁城 Forbidden City
Zi Qiao 字橋 Word Bridge, i.e. a zigzag bridge
Ziyi Yuan 自怡園 Garden of Self-Enjoyment
Zongguang Ge 澄光閣 Transparent Bright Pavilion
Zongjing Dazhaozhi Miao 宗鏡大昭之廟 Mirror of Ancestors' Great Glory Temple, informally called *Zhao Miao* 昭廟 Luminous Temple
Zuijiu furong 醉酒芙蓉 Intoxicated Hibiscus
Zuoshi Linliu 坐石臨流 Rocks and Streams Place

CHINESE NAMES OF PEOPLE

Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846)
Bao Puzi 抱朴子 a fourth century Daoist philosopher
Benoist, Michel, S. J. Chinese name *Jiang Youren* 蔣友仁 (1715-1774)
Castiglione, Giuseppe, S. J. Chinese name *Lang Shining* 郎世寧 (1688-1766)
Cha Chi 茶癡 a tea enthusiast
Chen Congzhou 陳從周
Chenghua emperor 成化 Ming emperor (r. 1465-1487)
Chuan Hong 串紅
Dalai Lama (the seventh), Skalbzan-rgya-mtsho 葛爾桑嘉木錯 (1708-1757)
Ding Guanpeng 丁觀鵬
Dong Gao 董誥
Dong Yuan 董源 a Chinese artist of Five dynasties and Southern Tang (d. 962)
Du Fu 杜甫 (712-777)
Eidu 額衣都 (1562-1621) of the Niohuru 鈕祜祿
Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052)
Geng Liutong 耿劉同
Guo Shoujing 郭守敬 Kublai Khan's chief engineer
Hongli 弘曆 princely name of the Qianlong emperor
Hongzhi 弘治 Ming emperor (r. 1488-1505)
Huizi 惠子
Huizong 徽宗 (1101-1225)
Ji Cheng 計成
Jin Bailing 金伯苓
Jin Xun 金勳 (1882-1976)

Ji Yün 紀昀
Liezi 列子
Li Daoyuan 酈道元
Li Shizhuo 李世倬
Li Sixun 李思訓 a Tang dynasty Buddhist and painter
Li Tao 李祹 King of Korea
Liu Jing, 刘瑾, a powerful eunuch of正德 Zhengde Emperor
Liu Qingrong 劉磬容
Lu Tong 盧同, also written 仝
Mi Fu 米芾
Mingzhu 明珠
Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374)
Nurhaci 努爾哈赤 (1559-1626)
Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072)
Qiu Ying's 仇英 Seventh Dalai Lama (Skalbzan-rgya-mtsho)
Qu Yuan 屈原
Ricci, Matteo, S.J. Chinese name *Li Madou* 利瑪竇
Shen Yuan 沈源
Shizong 世宗
Shizu 世祖 emperor (r. 1260-1294), Kublai Khan, of the Mongol Dynasty (1277-1367)
Sichelbart, Ignace Chinese name, *Ai Qimeng* 艾啟蒙, (1708-1780)
Sima Guang 司馬光
Sun Hu 孫祜
Su Zizhan 蘇子瞻
Tang Dai 唐岱
Tao Luyu 陶陸羽
Tao Qian 陶潛
Wang Wei 王維
Wang Xizhi 王羲之
Wang Youdun 汪由敦 (1672-1758)
Wanli 萬曆 emperor (1573-1620)
Wan Yi 萬依
Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢
Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559)
Wu 武 King of Zhou, Zhou dynasty (c. 1122-256 B.C.), brother of Duke of Zhou
Xiaoduan Empress 孝端 consort of Manchu ruler, Hung Taiji (r.1627-1643)
Xiaohui Empress 孝惠皇黃后 (1641-1718), Mongolian stepmother of the Kangxi emperor
Xiaokang Empress 孝康章皇后 (1640-1663), mother of K'anghsi
Xiaosheng Empress 孝聖皇后 (1693-1777), mother of Qianlong
Xiaoxian Empress 孝獻皇黃后 (1639-1660)

Xiaoxian Empress 孝賢皇后 (1712-1748), granddaughter of Mishan 米思翰 (1632-1675)
Xiaozhuang Superior Empress Dowager 孝庄皇太后 (1613-1688)
Xuande 宣德, Ming emperor (r. 1426-1435)
Yang Boda 楊伯達
Yao Zongren 姚宗仁
Yi Lantai 伊蘭泰
Yingzong emperor 英宗 Ming emperor (r. 1436-1449 and 1457-1467)
Yuanyou 元祐
Yuchuanzi 玉川子 Master Jade Stream
Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103-1141), a hero of the Song Dynasty, later deified Yu Jing, see Liu Jing
Yu Qing 禹晴
Zhang Qian 張騫
Zhang Ruocheng (張若澄, 1722-1770)
Zhang Zeduan 張泽端 (1085-1145) artist who drew the *Qingming Shanghetu*
Zhangzong 章宗 emperor (r. 1189-1208) of the Jin 金 Dynasty (1115-1234)
Zhao Guanghua 趙光華
Zhengde 正德 Ming emperor (r. 1506-1521)
Zhengtong 正統 Ming emperor (r. 1436-1449)
Zheng Tong 鄭同, a Ming dynasty official
Zhou Gong (周公) Duke of Zhou
Zhuangzi (莊子, ca. 399-295 B.C.)

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